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ABSTRACT

This monograph contains papers that study and assess the societal and political influences that could affect the work of the educational administrator during the next decade. Authored by conference speakers, panel members, and reactors, the papers cover such subjects as (1) the implications of social change for the administrator, (2) the politics of educational change in the seventies, (3) education policy development, (4) educational resource allocation, (5) curriculum development, (6) decentralization of program decisionmaking, and (7) the emerging role of the principal. (JF)

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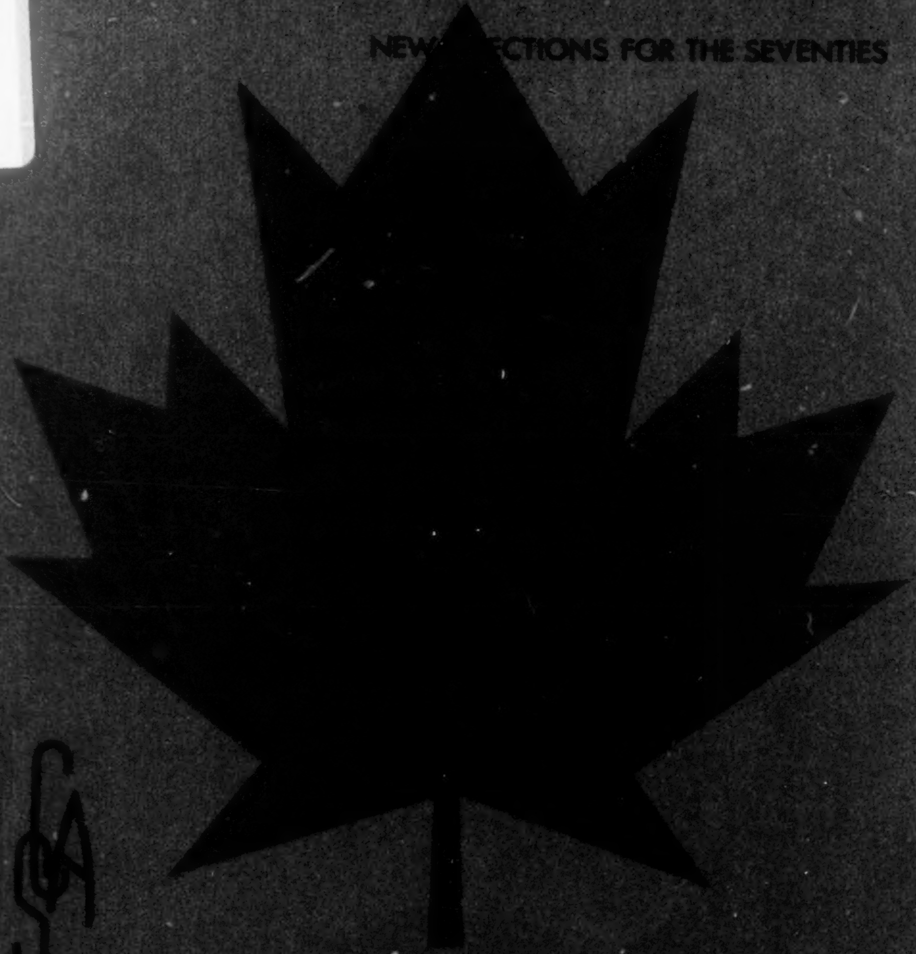
Revolution to Resolution

NEW ECTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES



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CSA MONOGRAPH

No. 1

COUNCIL ON SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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Revolution to Resolution

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES

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Council on School Administration
Alberta Teachers' Association
Barnett House
Edmonton, Alberta
1971

Revolution

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Foreword

I consider it a privilege to belong to an organization of school administration which closed an active year and began a new one on a note as optimistic as "Revolution to Resolution: New Directions for the Seventies." This theme was the focus of the second Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conference, the year's major undertaking of the Alberta Council on School Administration which – with the cooperation of the B.C. Principals' and Vice-Principals' Association and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation; the Manitoba Association of Principals and Manitoba Teachers' Society; and the Saskatchewan High School Principals' Group and Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation – undertook for the second consecutive year to meet a common need of Canadian administrators.

The Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conference has as its prime objective to facilitate exchange of ideas among principals, vice-principals, superintendents, and other central office administrators, at a level more all-inclusive than regional or provincial administrator associations in western Canada have hitherto provided. It was indeed gratifying and an encouragement for the planning committees to find well over five hundred registrants from most of our provinces and territories at the conference held in Banff, Alberta, during October, 1969, and to find an almost equal number at the conference held the following year.

The great distances separating the various parts of Canada may for the present make it impossible for administrators, particularly principals, vice-principals, and other resident in-school administrators, to become active members of a national organization whose purpose is to organize frequent and continuing professional development activities. However, this does not preclude the holding of an annual conference to serve the needs of administrators in the western provinces or all of Canada. For a number of reasons, administrators in the Canadian west are in a good position to provide the leadership for such activity. It is hoped that they will find their efforts in this regard to be rewarding and that they will continue at least annually to participate in activities which would not otherwise be available to them. Evaluations completed by participants during the two years suggest that these conferences have been very well received.

This book serves as a record of the excellent sessions and as a memento of an enjoyable educational activity for those who were at the second Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conference. For others it will serve as a source of ideas and research, much of which is not found elsewhere. I recommend it highly.

EUGENE RATSOY
President, Alberta Council
on School Administration
January, 1971

* * *

Acknowledgements

The Alberta Teachers' Association Specialist Council on School Administration for many years has assumed the responsibility of organizing, or providing assistance in the organization of conferences for Alberta school administrators. The Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conferences grew from a need expressed by local administrators for an opportunity to meet with colleagues from other parts of the province and other provinces. The proceedings reported here are based on the second in what appears likely to become a series of annual conferences.

The conference was designed to study and assess the societal and political influences that would affect the work of the educational administrator during the next decade. Speakers, panel members, and reactors have permitted the publication of their papers in this monograph. The committee wishes to express its thanks for the excellent addresses and for the papers published here.

The leadership given by session chairmen was appreciated by the committee and the participants. Session chairmen were drawn from the ranks of the planning committee, together with

Lorne Bunyan – Calgary
Norman Cuthbertson – Edmonton
Arnold Holmes – Edmonton
Olaf Larson – Lethbridge
Jack Van Tighem – Calgary
Robert Warren – Calgary

A number of graduate students from the University of Calgary assisted with registration and social activities: J.R. Houghton, R.M. Kruchten, G. J. Krupa, A.D. Jorsted, E.C. Seaton, and E.J. Shostal. Their contributions, so essential to the effectiveness of the conference and yet often taken for granted, are acknowledged with our thanks.

We are particularly grateful to the participants from all parts of Canada. Their enthusiasm and excellent participation contributed much to the conference. Participants' evaluations of the conference endorse future annual conferences.

Appreciation is expressed to the following organizations for their assistance in promoting the conference:

The Alberta Teachers' Association
B.C. Principals' and Vice-Principals' Association
The Alberta Department of Education
Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation
Manitoba Association of Principals and Vice-Principals
The Department of Educational Administration, University of Calgary
The Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta

Not until one has had direct experience in producing a conference report of this scope can one fully appreciate the contributions made by the various technical support staff who actually produce the completed monograph. These technical support people include editors, graphic designers, typists, and print shop staff. I want to thank the various members of the Barnett House publications staff who have worked with myself and Dr. McIntosh in making this publication a reality. Particular appreciation is expressed for the work of Hilda Lindae, Tom McConaghy, Ray Hunt, Pat Peacock, Joan McGinnis, and Scotty Barnett.

As director of the Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conference and as co-editor of this monograph I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to the executive of the Council on School Administration and the Conference Planning Committee for providing the support necessary to make the conference a success. I am particularly grateful to Ken Bride for his help in assuming the responsibility for looking after all the last minute details which I could not handle because of my emigration from Alberta.

T.J. SAWCHUK
Conference Director

part one

EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTIES

An Overview

NORMAN GOBLE
FRANCIS KEPPEL
WES LORIMER

Implications of Social Change for the Administrator

NORMAN GOBLE

"The cages of society are broken; the idealists are at large. But so are many other creatures less benevolent . . . ". With this image, the author concludes an analysis of what he sees as a revolutionary situation in contemporary society. We are living at the historic moment when again power is changing hands. Social restlessness – manifested at the extremes in the forms of "rehearsals for despotism" and "exercises in authoritarianism" – prevails. Increasingly exacting demands are placed on the schools as institutions embodying norms which justify a social order now under concerted attack. The educator – custodian of a social order which traditionally he has worked to stabilize and preserve – is being called upon to act as midwife for a new social order. One cannot be optimistic that he is capable of responding adequately to what may be impossible demands.

In approaching a topic so vast in its scope, it is hard to find a starting point. And yet it hardly matters where one starts. Social change, educational change, and role change (which I assume is what we mean when we talk about the implications of change for the educational administrator) are all so closely interwoven that to touch one is to touch a thread that runs through all. Indeed, in this field, any demand for change, however small or specific, will lead us out to such a breadth of implications and such a depth of significance that we must at some point arbitrarily stop, lest we lose all orientation. We find an analogy in physical movement: any motion, however slight, will if prolonged take us out of the known world and into a gulf of space that is not only uncharted but uninhabitable by human beings. But the analogy holds further: just as the space explorer must find a new planet not unlike his own, or return to the humanly habitable environment of earth, so the change explorer must in the end find a new order in which the old Adam may live or revert to known forms and ways. Man changes little: rather he loses himself in the artificiality of his manufactured environment, and must from time to time hack down the growth to find himself again.

What I am saying is that change is cyclic, not linear, and this makes nonsense of the bizarre predictions of the futurists. Beyond change lies the familiar: all explorations lead us to the discovery of ourselves.

Having said this by way of preface, let me offer you a parable.

There is a story which I report without vouching for its authenticity, of a school superintendent and a research specialist who were in conversation at an administrators' conference when they were approached by a mutual acquaintance. When they had got through telling one another how nice it was to meet again, the newcomer asked how the wives of the other two were. Answering together, the superintendent warmly declared "Certainly better than nothing," while the researcher inquired "As compared to what?"

Here, then, are two views of change: one envisages a shift from one state to another (closer to an ideal or further from an imagined starting point) but really assumes that at any given moment the condition of things is static; the other sees a condition in which there are no fixed points, and in which all things, including criteria and instruments of measurement, are subject to constant revision.

TWO KINDS OF DEMAND FOR CHANGE

This distinction – or rather the failure to make it – greatly confuses the debate about educational change. What I propose to attempt in this paper is this: to sharpen the distinction between the pressures to make specific changes and the pressure to alter the educational machine from a static form of social institution to an ever-changing fluid process; to suggest the source of these two different pressures; and to make some assertions about the implications of both.

There is, however, one common element: the extraordinary difficulty of making any response to either pressure. The educational enterprise is a complex and unwieldy apparatus; its decision-making mechanisms are mysterious in their operation and uncertain in their responses; its functions are ill-defined and its output defies evaluation; its values and goals are derived from the past, and its processes represent ultimate effect rather than cause – the last-stage outcome of social evolution rather than the anticipation of future needs. And it is to this apparatus that the public, with increasing insistence, is addressing its demands for rapid, creative, purposeful change.

I have a great deal of sympathy for the administrator who said: "Sometimes I feel like a locomotive engineer. The engine is wheezing and needs constant nursing; the schedule is out of date and the company can't decide on a new one; they keep hitching on more cars, and I can't see the signals for the fog. I could live with all that, but what really bugs me is this guy with the gun who wants me to fly him to Cuba."

The specific demands are familiar enough. For a useful summary, we might turn to a working paper prepared by UNESCO for the 1970 International Conference on Education. (The phrases are not consecutive in the original document: I have plucked them from here and there and strung them together):

> In order to implement the right to education, quantitative expansion is called for . . .
>
> Moreover, many countries are concerned about the unequal distribution of educational opportunity . . . .
>
> The education system is itself not efficient enough in achieving the goals set for it by each nation . . . . The result of increasing expenditure is a natural demand for greater attention to efficiency . . . . In more general terms, this is not merely a question of better vocational preparation; it raises the issue of the relevance of teaching and learning . . . .
>
> Symptomatically, student unrest and questioning by teachers have directed attention to the very foundations of education. . . . The aims of education are being re-examined in an attempt to discover the source of the problem of the lack of fitness or effectiveness. . . . There is increasing acceptance of the idea that a mechanism should be sought to ensure the continuous reform of education.

Analyzing this catalogue of familiar concerns, we find the kind of confusion I mentioned earlier. First, there is the assertion of the need to move from one condition of things to another in three respects. Admission should be universal, opportunity to profit from admission should be equal, and output should demonstrably justify the financial input.

Secondly, we have the completely different *kind* of assertion that the mode of organization and regulation of the educational system should change from the static to the dynamic – "the idea that a mechanism should be sought to ensure continuous reform." This implies the assumption that, whatever the specific needs for change may be at the present moment, there is going to be a *continuous* need from now on for adjustments in the process of education. This is a vastly different proposition. It is a little like the difference between saying that next year's cars should have radial tires and saying that the industry should be organized to make model changes every year. If it is true, the implications for the administrator are far more important than those arising from any specific suggestion for improvement.

The first set of demands – those calling for specific changes – is challenging enough. Quantitative expansion brings its train of forecasts, projections, designs to maximize capacity and minimize cost, and all the rest of the awesome array of logistical problems. It also presents us with the dilemma of justifying a demand for vast increases in the amounts of money allocated to education at a time when the public temper is anything but favourable (a fact illustrated almost daily by documents such as the Gallup poll reported in the October 1970 issue of *The Kappan*) and it sharpens the urgency of making decisions about the distribution of funds among the various sectors of the system.

Quantitative expansion demands a high level of skill and sophistication in educational planning in the widest sense, including such areas as demographic projections and public finance; it also demands competence in the art of persuasion and public communication. Deficiencies have to be measured, the cost of remedy calculated, and the public authority persuaded to authorize action. The required skills, and the knowledge on which they rest, are not yet as widespread as they might be.

Consideration of the meaning of real equality of educational opportunity takes us straight into the debate on social goals, the definition of social justice, and the assessment of the mutual obligations of the individual and the community. It is, I suppose, a kind of progress when we recognize the need to reach decisions and make real commitments in the area of social justice: but when and how shall we make a start?

The road to equality runs through the jungles of politics and the swamps of social philosophy. It is worth noting, in passing, that the prevalent definition grows more exacting year by year. Until recently, the most that was envisaged was equal access to common facilities. Then it was realized that what was really wanted was the assurance of the possibility of reaching a common standard, despite any initial disadvantage or handicap – a planned inequality in the provision of "remedial" services. Now we are almost ready to concede that equality lies in the right of each individual to the unrestricted pursuit of a unique and separate experience. But in whatever form equality is defined, its pursuit takes us back to quantitative expansion. It also raises a related question about the function of the administrator in relation to the elected authority. Should he be loyally defending the allocation of resources made by his political masters and concentrating on their application, or should he be striving for increase in the allocation? This is not an academic question, nor an unimportant one. A few weeks ago an assistant superintendent in New York City declared in a radio talk, "We have nothing to be ashamed of, educationally, in Harlem." He meant that his administration had done as well as it could be expected to do with its limited resources; but he has been bitterly attacked for seeming complacency.

"Efficiency" is another can of worms that we have opened reluctantly and poked around in without much result. The naive idea that cost-benefit calculations can be made on a straightforward basis of dollar input and measured specific output has more lives than a barrel of cats, and we are going to have to go on trying to kill it every time it is reincarnated. But there is every reason, ranging from the coldest financial assessment to the warmest impulse of humane concern, to urge us towards some *valid* definition of quality and success in the educational process. The cost of our failure to define fitness and effectiveness is the loss of credibility – on which depends not only the acceptance of reforms, but the very survival of the educational system. We simply cannot afford to go blundering along on our course of uncertain reform, capricious change, and faddism.

We have been brought face to face with the embarrassing realization that in the vital area of educational evaluation we have made very little headway. Accountability is being demanded, loudly and urgently, in terms to which we are not able to provide a response. Description of the essential nature of the desired outcome of the educational process in objective, quantitative terms is lacking, and measurement of the degree of success in achieving its goals is therefore impossible. It is this lack of definition that has led Marc Belth to describe teaching as "a travesty of an art form – each man doing his own thing." And this is an artistic licence that the taxpayer is less and less inclined to tolerate. The fashion for "unstructured" learning experiences does not carry through to approval of a directionless system.

THE ORGANIZATION OF REFORM

How, then, is the effort of reform to be organized and managed?

It is ironical that in the fringe area of logistics and business management, remarkable progress has been made towards the development of sensitive and effective mechanisms of measurement and control, while the real purposes of the system remain nebulous and the means of measuring progress uncertain in the extreme. Since people tend to do what they are able to, rather than what they ought to, it follows inevitably that the role of administrators, their selection, and their education (both formal and informal) have been increasingly directed towards the function of logistical management, rather than towards real educational leadership and reform.

Moreover, the public, in spite of its disquiet, has not really abandoned the assumption that decisions about education are simple and permanent, nor the conviction that they are the prerogative of the electorate. They are political decisions, and in fact they are among the few political issues that arouse deep feelings at the local community level (feelings that are more likely to reflect prejudices than informed opinion). Accordingly, the professional administrator, who is hired to implement and facilitate, is likely to be suspected of trespass if he becomes insistent about educational change. The other side of the coin, of course, is that the administrator may well be unready to see himself as a creative educational innovator – and that his education and training may not have left him confident to take an authoritative stand in such matters as social philosophy, evaluation and educational measurement, educational planning, and education finance. But as things are, "he is damned if he do and damned if he don't." Neither the constraints set on his role nor his modesty will save him from the present wave of attacks on the school system.

These difficulties – this void in the central area of control of the educational function – are a serious enough obstacle to the making of necessary specific changes. But when it comes to the second kind of change – the need to establish a mode of continuous response to evolving needs – they appear insuperable. The mechanisms needed for continuous reform – processes of goal-formation, overall planning, information feed-back, evaluation, decision-making, and procurement and allocation of resources – simply do not exist in the structure of the public control of education, except in the organizing of support facilities. Moreover, the power of decision, which has been clearly assigned through a structured system in the secondary domain of logistics and physical management, has not been formalized or clearly assigned in the areas that matter most.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Now, I have used the phrase "social change" as if its meaning were indisputable and precise. Before giving further consideration to its implications, I would like to state some of the assumptions I make about its essential elements.

Social change is a process of shift of power; or, rather, it is brought about through the activity of those who already hold the substance of power and are striving to formalize its exercise – to gain overt control over society. This happens when a new source of power emerges. It happened, for example, during the industrial revolution, when power slipped into the hands of the producers of goods. It happens again when power leaks (as it always does) from the ruler to his subjects. The chief grows dependent on his warriors; the producer grows dependent on the consumers. The pressure then is for the democratization of control. The subjects want to take part in whatever they understand of the goal-formation and decision-making that regulate their lives.

The main thrust at present is towards control by the *consumer* over the major decisions in which the oligarchs of the technological world have had full say up to now. Education, and the vivid presentation, through television, of the nature of these decisions and their consequences, have given tremendous impetus to the demand for democratization.

Let me enlarge on that.

As I have said, the arrival of the industrial revolution placed a new power in the hands of the makers and sellers of goods. It was the power to produce things, and it was of such decisive economic importance that it transformed the organization of society and stole the substance of decision-making power from the agencies of formal political control.

At first this power was applied to the satisfaction of pre-existent needs (and later to the competition for discovery and control of areas where these existed). But technological progress brought about such a multiplication of available goods (of a less and less basic kind) that the obvious needs – at least of those able to purchase goods – were soon satisfied, and an increasingly frenzied hunt for consumers developed. Now, you cannot manufacture needs; but the great discovery of the twentieth century was that you *can* manufacture *wants* and this is what the makers and sellers have been hiring the advertising specialists to do for them.

I believe that the consumer has become very much aware of this, and resentful of it – ready for rebellion. I believe, too, that he is realizing what dependence on him is revealed by this frantic pursuit.

We have, I think, misunderstood the role of technology in producing social change. I think it has had an effect in three ways. The first I have already mentioned: over-abundant production of an increasingly frivolous nature, leading to excessive pressure to consume. The second is this: communications technology (television above all) has made us so acutely aware of the unmet needs and wants that still exist in the world at the most basic human levels, that we are much more intolerant of the people who pester us to buy and use up their irrelevant products. Also, it has made us very keenly aware of the decisions that are being made by our rulers, and has increased our determination to have a say in them.

Thirdly, technology has reached such a point in its abuse of the biosphere that we now realize that further pursuit of the goals of the makers and sellers may well jeopardize the survival of our species.

In short, the subjects know what is going on; they also know that the state of technology is such that the consequences of the wanton exercise of power are catastrophic. They want to have their say, and to feel that they have their say, in choosing the goals of society; they know that the choice may mean life or death; and the longer their access to power is delayed, the more hostile and distrustful they become towards the existing hegemony.

When the power leakage has reached a certain point, suppression of the demand for control of decision-making is no longer possible. There must then follow a long period of turbulence, lasting until the new power-holding community has achieved definition and devised a mode of applying its power.

Characteristics of the period of turbulence are:

- attacks on the institutions which have evolved to conserve or perpetuate the old order;
- repudiation of authority based on the hierarchy of the old order;
- tolerance of any activity which reflects the pattern of the major thrust (i.e., in the present instance, any activity in which consumers seek to control the process in which they play a part).

This tolerance, incidentally, may have very dangerous consequences. Condoning anti-social behaviour tends to reinforce it, and a genial sense of comradeship which ignores the motivation, the purposes, and the character of the dissidents is a form of optimistic folly.

Concomitants of the Struggle for Control

Two concomitants of the struggle for control are of especial importance to us. One is the general restlessness that results. When the rulers are seriously challenged, the whole tree is shaken, and any group that can define its group identity and which suffers real or imagined disadvantage raises its demands for redress. These include demands for adjustment in the purposes and processes of education to take care of neglected needs. Once the shift of power is achieved, most of this restlessness will fade (or will be suppressed); but in the meantime some real injustices will have been remedied, and some adjustments of status will have been made.

There is, of course, always the possibility that extreme harm may be done during the period of restlessness: we must not underrate the danger of the times. The fabric of society is delicate and easily torn; it is woven of compromises, accommodations, tacit compacts, and conventions about behaviour. This is especially true in a democracy, which requires of its citizens a high degree of voluntary conformity – sometimes mistakenly referred to as the rule of law. The agencies charged with the formal enforcement of conformity, in a democracy, are able to cope with marginal disturbances only, and are entirely dependent on public assent. If any substantial group adopts a style of behaviour hostile to the established order, suppression is practically impossible.

And yet I predicted, a moment ago, eventual suppression of most of the "liberationist" movements that abound today. That is because I do not expect the outcome of the present revolution to be a democratic order. Democracy embraces uncertainty; but uncertainty is the characteristic of the liberal, not of the radical reformer. And conflict – particularly in the form of competition for dominance or advantage – does not breed tolerance. Those who win out will be authoritarian.

In many ways we are already witnessing the rehearsals for despotism; and we should learn to recognize them for what they are. We made one mistake when we failed to recognize the face of barbarism in our technological society (forgetting that the essence of barbarism is that it perverts technological skill to the service of a non-humane ideology). We are in grave risk of making as dangerous a mistake in failing to recognize the face of tyranny in many of the groups that compete in asserting their claims.

The prevalence of slogans is one indicator. It is inevitable that slogans flourish in a period of turbulence: they are tentative exercises in authoritarianism.

The slogan differs, of course, from the precepts and rules of stable authority ("No smoking in the washroom," "opposite poles attract, like poles repel"). The latter, now out of fashion, sought objectivity, rationality, and permanence. They were overt and honest in their intention to regulate behaviour in specific ways and, at best, they conferred a certain sense of security.

The slogan, on the other hand ("power to the people," "make love, not war") is equally authoritarian, but question-begging in its terminology, vague in definition, emotional instead of rational, subjective instead of objective. Its purpose is covert, not overt: to secure loyalty, to modify attitudes in non-specific ways. The slogan creates an atmosphere of ill-defined expectation – a stress condition which predisposes the subject to acceptance of leadership and eventual direction.

The printed T-shirt and the poster (mass-produced, oddly enough, in spite of their proclamations of individuality) are the banners of some of the most assertive groups of present dissidents: those of us who remember other banners and other slogans, in the turbulence of Europe in the thirties, have some reason for dismay.

The second concomitant of social change is perhaps less obvious. Any established authority will rapidly create a social order appropriate to its nature, with a dominant community reflecting the affinities of those who hold power. Institutions eventually arise to protect and preserve the existing order by conferring credentials on those fit to enter the power structure and screening out those who are not. (Many research studies have shown the nature of the social order established in industrial North America, and the "credentialist" function of the school has been amply documented.[1]) As the revolt against the established authority gains momentum, there is a strong movement towards individualism. The aim is to free the individual from the hold of the conventional community and its formative institutions. In education, we have seen this movement take the form of increasingly exacting demands on the system. Eventually, the point is reached where the system cannot respond without being destroyed in the process – which, of course, is what the "reformers," consciously or unconsciously, really want.

There results a period of normlessness. But this is not a condition readily tolerated by man who is a social animal. It leads very quickly to a search for a normative collectivity – a community formed on an acceptable basis, to whose norms the individual can contentedly conform, and which will in its turn create appropriate institutions.

But the new normative community cannot be firmly established until the new power group has achieved definition and formalized its power. The urgent search for the undefined is an erratic form of behaviour, leading to a great number of false starts and to some curious and extravagant misadventures.

Finally, there is an important complication in our time. It is the fact that youth is in a majority – and a majority that exercises decisive consumer power in the economy. The natural optimism of youth in regard to change, its congenital distrust of the aged, and, in our own time, the special self-confidence inspired by familiarity with a technology which baffles the older generation, add up to a majority attitude very favorable to the destruction of authority and the repudiation of institutions.

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[1] See, for example, Peter Schrag, "End of the Impossible Dream," Saturday Review, September 19, 1970.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE UNRESOLVED REVOLUTION

So, until the present revolution ends with the definition of the new power group and the formalization of modes of control and decision-making, we shall, as educators, face a number of implications, which really sort themselves out into two categories.

In the first category are:

- constant attacks on the school as an institution (rationalized in various ways but generally tending to deny the possibility of reform);
- repudiation of the authority claimed by those trained to expertise under existing systems.

Note that in this category of activities the content of the criticism is irrelevant. It is the fact of criticism that is significant, and the fact that it is in fashion. If any concession is made, the aim shifts and the demands escalate. John Holt has expressed this very well: he compares himself to a boxer, watching for openings. The specifics do not matter, except as tactical factors: the objective is a knock-out.

In the second category we find the following:

- pressure for decentralization of organization;
- assertion, by or on behalf of those subjected to a process (e.g. pupils) of the right to make decisions about the process;
- a multiplicity of demands for special concessions from specific sections of the community;
- demands for an impossible degree of individualization, accompanied by frantic attempts to set up communities enforcing a specific mode of behaviour.

Functions of the School

These pressures and demands must be seen in relation to the functions – declared or unavowed – of the school.

The first is the declared function of imparting needed knowledge and skills. The interpretation of "needed" is, of course, determined by the consensus of society, and is therefore based on past experience. This makes the school especially vulnerable to criticism in a time of change – as does its poor record of real success.

I am not here referring to the depressing number of failures in conventional schooling. That is bad enough: but what is the real level of competence – or benefit – among the great majority who pass at a low adequate level? Deep involvement in study in any discipline is a rich educative experience; but what value is there in exposure to the random collection of beginnings that make up the traditional high-school curriculum? So you got sixty in Algebra – what good did it do you? And how is your Latin now? Sometimes I get the feeling that the outcome of a century of strenuous inefficiency has been the creation of a system which culminates in the award of a certificate of inadequate comprehension of the irrelevant.

In this area the challenge is to accommodate rapidly and effectively to the legitimate demands of those whose needs have not been served. During periods of social stability, we tolerate the existence of myriad forms of deprivation, injustice, and hardship. When disruption allows the voice of suffering to break through the murmur of complacency, it is imperative that we hear and respond.

We now know that there are many groups in our society for whom school is simply an artificial environment in which they are temporarily confined, and from which they derive little or nothing that they can relate to their real lives and needs. We also know that a great deal of what goes on in school is not rational nor purposeful, but rather a pointless survival of old ways, retained through habit or inertia, and quite useless as an educative experience to any of the students. The moment of turbulence is a moment of unique opportunity, which we are frustratingly unable to take advantage of; first, because the process of decision-making and adjustment is too slow; and also, paradoxically, because the moment when vigorous and generous public support is most needed is also a moment of public distrust of institutions.

This is a most difficult situation for the administrator. Traditionally, his function has been to stabilize, not to disturb – to maintain the consistent and predictable operation of an enterprise that was highly conservative in nature, and to blend in new elements without essential disruption. His training and his experience have fitted him to implement efficiently, within a known context. As the recent CELDIC report observed, "Education in our society tends to be conservative and to select as its leaders those who have proved their ability to accommodate to the system rather than to disrupt it by innovation."[2]

Now the administrator faces a totally new imperative. He must show compliance with the pressure to innovate even though he lacks the tools of valid and valuable innovation.

To the administrator at all levels falls the choice between justifying and defending what he has been accustomed to implement but has not designed, or the harder task of modifying what is too complex to be radically changed. Without the means of evaluating what already exists, he is driven to choose blind among the packages available on the shelves of the growing educational supermarket, or else to seek the appearance of change without its substance. Meanwhile, disparagement of the institution of school erodes the discipline on which ordered education rests; repudiation of the "establishment" sharpens public questioning to the point of harassment; decentralization puts the burden of decision-making on those who have no authority to decide; and the demand for what has been called "situation democracy" threatens to subvert the formal democracy of public control.

The second function of the school is the undeclared but important one of conditioning the young to acceptance of established modes of thought and behaviour. This is the function which, in a time of turbulence, attracts the particular fury of the radical reformers. In a sense, of course, they are right: as long as the school continues to be a means of codifying and communicating the values of an abandoned order, it is condemned to be irrelevant in a time of change. It is its very commitment to this function that makes its release from the function imperative – that makes it inescapably necessary for mechanisms of response and flexible change to replace the rigid structures of static organization.

In its first function, the machine of education must be adjusted in specific ways to change its outputs. In its second funtion, the machine must itself be transformed so that it is in constant change. This is necessary not for objective reasons but because the expectations of society have changed. During the turbulent period of search for a new social order the whole basis of societal organization remains unclear. Everything is tentative and temporary, and any institution that seems to impose permanence is unacceptable. This attitudinal shift, far more than the pace of technological development, is the source of pressure on the schools to change from orthodoxy to open-ended flexibility.

I have already commented on the lack of a suitable mechanism for the operation of a school system on this basis. Even if one were developed, its operation would raise very difficult questions about the role of the administrator. Rapid response is impossible without decentralization of decision-making; but the decisions we are talking about are of a kind that have always been the jealously-kept prerogative of the political authority – and, indeed, have tended to be more and more centralized. The issues involved are of the order of those which are at present treated by major commissions over a period of years: is it conceivable that we shall ever see issues of that magnitude tackled on a continuous basis with decisions decentralized and delegated to professional administrators?

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[2] Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children, One Million Children (Toronto: The Commission, 1970).

Even if we set aside the thorny problem of developing a sufficient level of competence in research, evaluation, and innovative educational leadership at every level of the system, we are left with fundamental questions about the relative roles of the political authority and the professional in education (and at present the trend is for the "consumer" to challenge both, but particularly the latter, who is an easier target).

The third function of the school is informal and undeclared – indeed accidental and contradictory to the second. School is a community of young people. This very fact makes it a powerful educative instrument in ways that are by no means planned or intended by the formal authority. Peer-group pressures, vastly reinforced by the telecommunications which link the community to the culture shared by countless other such groups, reinforced again by the sense of separate identity fostered in adolescents by the profit-inspired and highly skillful efforts of major industries, and strengthened yet again by all the factors that alienate the young from the old, reach irresistible levels in the community of the school.

The dominant sentiments of a turbulent age – expectation of change, impatience with tradition, repudiation of authority, consumer militancy, and desire for identification with the norms of an acceptable community – are met head-on and in full strength in the schools. It was once the role of the school principal to be at the tail end of an administrative procession which itself brought up the rear of society – passing on, with irresistible authority, that which had been digested, assimilated, processed, formalized, and codified by the body politic. The word now fashionable in student circles to describe the output of this process eloquently symbolizes the revolt against assignment to that end of the alimentary system of society. In an abrupt reversal, the school principal now finds himself exposed directly to the strongest impulses of social change, and required to supply feedback into a system designed to operate in the downward direction only.

What he feeds back is going to be less and less digestible by the system. We are only at the start of a long period of stress and dissension. Schools are going to be wracked more and more by argument and open rebellion. Some of it will be legitimate – there is still far too much that is petty and pointless. Much more will be simply irresponsible – the predictable response of large groups of adolescents to a situation in which violent behaviour is fashionable and the inhibitions of public disapproval are weakened or removed. Criticism from outside will grow in volume and virulence; so will the censure of the conservatives. The administrator will find himself caught in an increasingly murderous crossfire from antagonists whose only point of agreement is condemnation of the schools.

At every level, administration takes on new dimensions of social and educational responsibility, and the task of mediating change in a most sensitive area of human and social concern more and more outweighs the task of organizational and logistical management.

SUMMARY

In summary, what I have attempted to suggest in this very general survey is this:

The side-effects of the present thrust of societal change place a demand upon the schools to revise and update their programs, to improve their accessibility, and to make special provision for those who are in various ways disadvantaged. At the same time, a decline in public confidence in the value of the output raises a demand for greater accountability.

This in turn demands of the administrator a high level of familiarity with current knowledge and theory about the learning and teaching process (including evaluation), understanding of social problems, their interaction and their educational implications, a sound knowledge of public finance, skill in educational planning, and skill in communicating with the public.

The major thrust of change has produced a shift in attitudes, so that institutions are suspect and there is a demand for constant and continuous reform as a permanent mode of operation. Schools must at least seem to comply if they are to retain any credibility.

Such a mode of operation, if carried through to an effective reality, would require the creation of a mechanism for research, experiment, feedback, evaluation, and decision-making which does not at present exist. It would require, in administrators at all levels, a high degree of knowledge and organizational ability, both in applying the techniques of educational measurement and design, in organizing and maintaining an appropriate learning environment, and in ensuring the flexible and efficient management of physical facilities and financial resources. It would also raise fundamental questions about the decision-making process (which would have to be both formalized and decentralized much more than at present) and about the proper roles of the political and the professional element.

At the maximum, these demands have implications for the selection, training, and professional preparation of administrators that go far beyond any imaginable limit of possibility. At their minimum, they call for a new mode of leadership in the search for educational values and the liberation of the educational process.

They demand the transformation of the role of the administrator from that of implementation and management to that of leadership and mediation in educational change, facilitating the organization and implementation of change, and evaluating the outcome. They call for the opening-up of decision-making, with new modes of participation by teachers and students, and for new ways of formulating goals and purposes to ensure that the administrative means serve, and do not dictate, the professional ends. They call for new mechanisms of evaluation that ensure continuous informed criticisms from outside the institution (an absolute necessity to prevent relapse into rigidity). They call for a softening of the distinction between teacher and administrator, for acceptance of the concept of continuous learning, and above all for a serious attempt to liquidate the rigid hierarchy of educational government.

These are very heavy demands. They may imply the necessity for a drastic reorganization of administration according to function (related to educational purposes) rather than according to levels of authority (which are related to financial control). They may, in fact, compel the final separation of educational organization and control from financial and logistical management at every level, with the latter serving the former and a wholly different system of selection and training for each.

They have alarming implications; but the price of non-response could well be a catastrophic breakdown in the system of public education.

This is where we are at. The cages of society are broken; the idealists are at large. But so are many other creatures less benevolent – the oppressed, the vengeful, the opportunistic, the unscrupulous, the neurotic, the psychotic. In the shadow of man walks the beast: when the one is intent on the breaking of fences, the other slips unnoticed through the gaps. To aid the man and quell the beast is a hard task: they wear the same face and they walk alike. In the long run, the only hope is that a climate and a vegetation will evolve which will sustain the one and starve the other. To advance this evolution is the task of education.

The implications emerge as questions. Who will be the weather-makers, the nutritionists? Who will choose the seed and the soils? What are the skills of this kind of husbandry?

And the hardest questions of all: do we believe that the function of organized education is vital to society? And is it now being asked to do the impossible? If we must answer yes and yes, then all we can look forward to is an increasingly chaotic society moving into a long and fearful darkness. You may hope that some day, magically, we shall emerge into the dawning of the Age of Aquarius. Forgive me if I decline to place bets on that hope.

Educational Issues in the Seventies

FRANCIS KEPPEL

Rapidly increasing educational expenditures are coming under ever more critical public scrutiny. The seventies, in the author's view, will be the decade in which educators will have to learn that "resource allocation and cost control are political and economic facts of life." Education may be on a collision course with society unless costs can be stabilized or, alternatively, increasing costs justified. The latter will require periodic rigorous assessments of the performance of the educational system and careful reporting to the public. Otherwise, an erosion of standards may be in the offing.

It is sometimes useful to speculate on what the historian of education will select, a decade hence, as the main issues of the 1970's. One is tempted to predict that the "generation gap" will be first on his list, followed by such topics as changes in the role of teachers or the application of technology to learning.

Yet I venture to doubt whether these will turn out to be the leading items in our historian's report. We are, it seems to me, entering a decade in which the governing issue may turn out to be the relation of the costs of education to other social expenditures. There are already signs around the world that governments are even beginning to take a hard look at the assumption that more investment in education will automatically lead to greater individual and social betterment.

More than a decade ago it became commonplace for economists to argue that investment in education by the developing nations was essential for economic growth. During the 1960's this line of reasoning had a good deal of influence on decisions made by the United States' federal government to increase investment in both the schools and in higher education. Today, however, I see signs that the argument is losing its force both overseas and on this continent. There are two major reasons for this change of mood or attitude.

First, it is becoming ever more clear that the costs of education are rising more rapidly than other social costs, with the single exception of medicine. Let me quote from the September 1970 report of the Economic Council of Canada:

> Education is the largest category (over 20 per cent) of total government spending in Canada and now exceeds $6 billion. Moreover, as indicated in our last Annual Review, such expenditures are expected to continue to increase at an average annual rate of about 8.5 per cent in constant dollars over the eight-year period 1967-75. This rate of increase is expected to be exceeded only in the case of government spending on health care.[1]

This rapid expansion results from the combined effects of two factors: population growth and an increase in the percentage of the age group enrolled in formal schooling. For years these have served as obvious reasons for increased costs, and the public has accepted our arguments for a higher proportion of national expenditures. A second set of factors must also be taken into account. Hidden behind the increase in numbers of pupils have been institutional factors leading to increased costs per pupil, factors within the schools themselves which have an inflationary effect. Demands for higher quality in the teaching staff have led to increased salaries for that staff. Rapid development of unionization has not only resulted in rapidly increased salaries but has resulted also in a substantial increase in fringe benefits. In nations such as the United States in which the increase in pupil population is leveling off, it is becoming starkly clear that these institutional factors will cause a continued rise in the costs of education at a rate that is forcing the hard look mentioned earlier.

A second reason for the hard look is the fact that education in nation after nation is becoming the highest single object of government expenditure. This is already true in the United States if one adds together local, state, and federal expenditures and leaves defense costs out of consideration. The French government also reports that, for the first time, education this year received the largest proportion of the national budget. The same phenomenon is to be found throughout western Europe.

As educators we may take some pride in our success in persuading our societies that we deserve the highest priority. But we must be prepared for a far more critical eye on the way we conduct our affairs than we have experienced in the past. It is for these reasons that the historian of 1980 may lead off his essay with the words, "The schools in the 1970's had to learn that resource allocation and cost control are political and economic facts of life."

I have suggested that government, spurred on by a restless public, is already beginning to ask embarrassing questions about school costs. In the United States, for the first time in its history, more local referenda on school expenditures have been voted down than approved. This decline in school support has taken place over a period of only five years. Critical questions about the costs of universities are being raised constantly in the British Parliament. Educational policy is perhaps the major domestic issue in France today, and the situation in Italy defies any brief description.

There is, as you know, a lot of talk about radical changes in methods of schooling both to improve quality and (though this is usually hidden) to control or reduce costs. The attractiveness of technology to cost-conscious policy-makers is by no means based solely on considerations of efficiency or better results, but also on the hope that education can be freed from the straight jacket imposed by a "labor-intensive industry." It is becoming clear that the only avenue to effective control over education costs lies in the pupil-teacher ratio. One can generalize that roughly two-thirds to three-quarters of educational expenditures are for salaries and staff benefits. The institutional factors that I mentioned earlier are forcing these costs up every year. Therefore, the question is asked: is there any method of changing the pupil-teacher ratio to stabilize expenditures or, indeed, to reduce them?

As I peer uncertainly into the future, I cannot be optimistic that technology will provide the means for such a stabilization or reduction. Quite apart from the requirements of formal instruction, the sheer problems of organizing the daily school lives of pupils would seem to require a ratio of pupils to adults that is something like twenty-five or thirty-five to one, particularly in the early years of schooling and perhaps well into the high school years as well.

Technology may well increase the power of this staff of adults to produce higher quality learning, but so far I see little evidence that it will reduce costs. Nor do I see any reason to assume that there will be any substantial reduction during the 1970's in the proportion of the age group for which society is willing to provide formal schooling. The evidence on this point, in fact, points quite the other way. There is a steady rise in the proportion of the age group in school or college throughout the world. And I am unable to think of any society that has reduced, or even leveled off, this steady increase. It would not seem to me sensible to assume a radical reversal in such fundamental social policy in a decade's time.

From these considerations one can conclude that we educators are headed on a collision

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[1] Economic Council of Canada, Seventh Annual Review (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p.55.

course. If we cannot control rising costs on the one hand and if the society is already resisting these costs on the other, it is easy to predict trouble during the 1970's.

We all know, however, that in such issues anything as dramatic as a "collision" is not likely to take place. It is more likely that a series of small adjustments and accommodations will be negotiated by educators and the governments that have to finance their programs. It is not at all unlikely, for example, that governments, unable to make fundamental changes in educational costs, will simply impose arbitrary limits on annual expenditures and tell educators to live within them. It is possible that such a policy will lead to slow erosion of quality and morale. This can have a devastating effect on an enterprise like education which depends so much on the attitudes and optimism of those engaged as both teachers and learners.

Another possibility – very difficult to carry out in fact – is for the educators to persuade the public that the increased costs bring better quality in the process. In the developed nations of the world, there is ample evidence to suggest that the national wealth is sufficient to support a larger investment in education – if there is the will to do so. In my own country, no one can seriously argue that we have a shortage of money for education when we have only to look at the amounts spent by individuals on alcohol or permitted to go down the drain of crime. The question under these circumstances is not whether the money is available for education: the question is rather whether the public thinks it is getting its money's worth.

These attitudes are well summarized in the following quotations:

> A nation justly proud of the dedicated efforts of its millions of teachers and educators must join them in a searching re-examination of our entire approach to learning.
>
> We must stop thinking of primary and secondary education as the school system alone – when we now have reason to believe that young people may be learning much more outside school than they learn in school. . . .
>
> We must stop congratulating ourselves for spending nearly as much money on education as does the entire rest of the world – $65 billion a year on all levels – when we are not getting as much as we should out of the dollars we spend.
>
> A new reality in American education can mark the beginning of an era of reform and progress for those who teach and those who learn.

Or the following:

> The fact that university operating costs and capital spending have been growing at twice the rate of enrolment and degrees granted raises the question as to whether resources are being used as effectively as they could be.

It may not surprise you that I have quoted respectively from President Nixon's first Message to Congress on Education[2] and from the Seventh Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada.[3]

It is perhaps a justifiable oversimplification to say that, until now, we in education have carried the public along with us in an era of rising expenditures for two reasons. First, we could point to an ever larger number of pupils who needed a place in school. Second, the public was persuaded that we were a low-cost public service which deserved more support, even at the expense of other public services. I am not persuaded that either of these arguments will carry much weight in the 1970's.

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[2] White House Press Release, "Message on Education Reform," March 3, 1970, passim.

[3] Economic Council of Canada, op. cit., p.68.

If this analysis is correct, we have to choose between a very radical effort to control our rising costs, or an effort to persuade the public that they are getting their money's worth – or perhaps a combination of the two. I have indicated that any radical reduction in costs seems unlikely in the coming decade – though, having said this, I do not wish to imply that some reductions are not possible. But they will probably not be enough by themselves to solve our problem. It will also be necessary to concentrate on improved performance – greater productivity if you will – and to embark on a major effort to justify to the public what we are doing.

We are not well equipped at the present time to undertake this latter effort. In my country we have not up to now felt it necessary to report to the public in a way that shows a steady progress in what our students have learned. In fact, there has been some tendency for the schools to sweep their failures under the rug. Furthermore, we find considerable resistance by some educators to any program of regular reporting on the results of our classroom efforts.

I do not underestimate the problems involved in measuring or reporting the results of learning. Nor can one deny that the public may reach hasty conclusions from inadequate data. Yet, having said this, one has to decide whether to make the effort to account for our performance to those who invest in us. A first step in this direction has been the development in the United States of the National Assessment Program, now under the direction of the Education Commission of the States.[4] The first results, reported to the Commission in early July of this year, were in the fields of science and citizenship, two of the ten subject areas in which assessments are being made. As one might expect, there has been substantial criticism of the instruments used and of the method of reporting. It seems reasonable to predict that the criticism will continue and I think it will be healthy. No one can be certain of future developments in the assessment program, but it seems at least possible that a number of states will attempt to make a similar assessment within their geographic boundaries. It is my personal conclusion that such baseline data will have to be obtained and reported to the public periodically if we are to succeed in the 1970's in educating our public on what we are doing and in educating ourselves about our own successes and failures. Only by facing up to this question will we be able to avoid both the collision and the erosion of standards which may face us as the result of our rising costs.

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[4] For further information see, for example, Ralph Tyler, "National Assessment: Some Valuable By-products for Schools," National Elementary Principal, 48: 42-48 (May, 1969).

Hard, Cold Facts about Education in the Seventies

WES LORIMER

The principal problems facing education in the seventies will be human problems, raised to social consciousness by our sharpened sensitivity to the inhuman circumstances in which many men must live. Education must compete with other sectors of activity which attempt to ameliorate the human condition for the always limited financial resources of our society. Partly because of the changing public attitude toward education, this competition will be difficult and educators must be more rigorous in their self-evaluation to justify their demands on the public purse. Other facts of the educational administrator's life in the seventies are considered. The author predicts that the seventies will see "a good deal of sporadic sniping as well as some real barrages directed at school administrators."

It is human nature to focus on problems. As a matter of fact, this is part of the process of adjustment through which all living organisms go. As soon as the environment produces any kind of stress, the organism immediately attempts to adjust in such a manner that its existence in the changed situation will be as satisfactory as possible. It is, of course, this attempt to adjust to the situation, to remake the world, to establish new ways of doing things, that motivates human progress. This line of thought brings us to the question: "Do we have any more problems today than we formerly had?" I think the answer to this question is both Yes and No.

The accelerated rate of change and development creates more problems – and a wider range of possible solutions. Modern systems of communication make it possible for all of us to know what others are doing throughout the world at about the time they are doing it. These communication systems also keep problems before us at a level to which we have not in the past been accustomed. As a matter of fact, one of our problems in Canada has to do with queries from lay persons regarding the problems of education in the United States: Do we have such problems in Canada? If so, to what degree? Since so many Canadians read American publications and watch American television, it is normal for them to infer that what they read and hear must be describing a situation in their own community. The result is that we are sometimes defending ourselves against the problems which we do not yet have, but will have in due course, and we are not really focusing on the problems which we do have.

On the other hand, the answer to the question posed in the first paragraph is, No, insofar as it is only possible to cope with so many problems at any one time. If, for example, we are going to bend all our resources to pollution, we are going to diminish our efforts to provide better housing. Human beings, as well as the media, can only focus on a small number of issues at any one time. As a matter of fact, one of our problems is to make sure that we do not let ourselves be led astray by focusing on those problems which are not really basic in our society at the bidding of some group or some part of the mass media which has chosen to focus on that problem to the exclusion of the more fundamental or more serious issues.

One of the hard, cold facts about the seventies, then, is that we can expect never to run out of problems because there exists a group in our society whose membership varies depending on the issue but whose continuing function is to keep society always off balance by raising and focusing on new problems. Anybody who plaintively cries "When will we be able to return to normal?" is even farther out and smaller than the voice crying in the wilderness. There is no hope for a return to so-called normality. If there ever was, there never will be again any normality which is peaceful and quiet.

PROBLEMS IN THE SEVENTIES

What will be the nature of our problems in the seventies? I would say that the main problems of the seventies are going to revolve around people. Our social sensitivity has increased (or our threshold of awareness is now lower) so that we are no longer satisfied to ignore or pretend that human problems do not exist. I would not want to say that we should disregard all the problems relating to pollution or whatever comes next but I would describe these types of problems as synthetic crises. The major problems of today and tomorrow are those which are more closely related to people.

We need to be sure that we are providing the kind of education which our children and adults need. We need to be sure that we are providing adequate health care and housing. We need to make certain that our law enforcement and our penal institutions are adequate. In the course of doing all these things, naturally we do not want to let people's lives be ruined by drinking polluted water nor by eating polluted fish. In my view, however, it is a ridiculous squandering of resources, both human and material, to be spending so much effort worrying about pollution of the environment and so little about the people who occupy the environment.

We must take note of the fact that our social institutions are being pressed to wrestle with problems that used to be ignored. There was a time – on some matters, very distant; on others, more recent – when society (or, perhaps more accurately, the power structure in society) did not worry about housing, about food, about medicine, or any of these problems because they were not considered to be the problems of society. Rather, they were seen as the problems of individuals. Everybody was considered responsible to look after himself. It was true that charitable or welfare organizations were established to care for the most destitute; but in the main these were considered to be for a limited group and were only intended to keep body and soul together.

One of the changing features of contemporary Canadian society has to do with the locus of public and private responsibility; that is, the extent to which individuals are responsible for looking after themselves and the extent to which the government, that is the organization of all the individuals in society, is responsible for looking after some parts of the society or in some cases the whole of society. In Canada, in spite of some protests, we have generally accepted that medicare is a responsibility of the government to see that necessary care is provided in this field for all citizens. The advent of medicare (and it is a policy which I support) has inevitable effects on education because it consumes some of the funds that might otherwise be used for education. We, therefore, have to make choices. When resources are not quite equal to expectations, we have to decide to what extent we will spend money on medicare and at what level, or on education and at what level, in order that adequate funds may be available for these and other purposes.

It has long been an article of faith in education that the schools have been concerned about the individual. In many ways we have tried to individualize instruction so as to take care of the educational needs of all the children and adults in our schools on the basis of their individual needs. We have had varying levels of success in this effort. We are certainly more conscious of the needs than we formerly were. We are conscious that we must do better. Present-day technology seems to be bringing us to the point where we can do better, but no one in education will deny that a good deal is yet to be done.

ADMINISTRATION IN THE SEVENTIES

With the foregoing as a somewhat generalized statement of the situation as it exists, may I now look at some of the hard, cold facts of the seventies.

Since my remarks are addressed primarily to administrators, I will begin by looking at administration. North America is an area where the status of administrators has been developed to a high level. Because we live in a materialistic society, it is possible to be certain about this since, in general, administrators get paid more than practitioners. In business, in industry, in government, in education, there are groups of experts who are responsible for the organization and operation of the structure.

I am not divulging any secrets nor am I saying anything new in asserting that administration, for all its social status, is presently in a bit of a corner. The motto of today is participatory democracy. This can mean that everybody gets into the act and that the play is made up by the cast. (This is the way children play house until one member of the group, usually a girl, takes over firm control of the situation by becoming the mother and instructing the rest as to how to behave and what lines to say.) Teachers want to participate in the running of schools and this seems not to be unreasonable. Pupils want to participate in the running of schools and in high schools this seems to be possible too. There might be some argument about junior high schools and it may seem impractical in kindergarten, but somewhere in between kindergarten and high school, students would seem to have a legitimate claim in asking to have a significant voice in the operation of the schools.

There is no doubt that students want to run the universities. As a matter of fact, the present argument is not between the students and the administration as to who should run the universities but between the students and the faculty since both sides have decided that they are the competent parties.

It is interesting to note that a few years ago there were parents who thought they ought to have a say in running the schools, but they seem to have faded into the background with the exception of those involved in putting forward candidates for positions as school trustees. As the age of majority tends towards eighteen years of age, parents may even get crowded out of this small role. But these days, school administrators are not coping so much with parents who want to run the schools as they are with teachers and students. School administrators during the seventies must recognize and be ready to deal with those who want to share in the operation of the schools. Because of the philosophy of the school and because of its attempts to teach democracy, I suggest that we can expect both faculty and students to insist that the school should function as a democratic institution. Indeed, there is some reason to think that the schools could, to advantage, become more democratic and less authoritarian.

May I say a brief word at this point with respect to the role of administration. School administration, I submit, is an ancillary activity. Administrators may teach teachers to do certain things but certainly they do not teach students. It is the responsibility then of the administrators to establish a climate which makes it possible for teachers to teach and for students to learn. Basically, administration is nothing. That is not to say that it is not essential, particularly in large schools, or that students or staff can function without someone to do the necessary administrative chores, nor does it say that administrators may not be able to improve the quality of education. It is my view, for example, that principals have the most significant influence on the quality of education. But all of us need to remember that we are not effective units, sufficient unto ourselves; we are merely a part of the problem.

SECURING RESOURCES

One of the main problems which education will face in this decade is to secure an allocation of resources which will make it possible to discharge its responsibility to society, yet balancing this against the danger that we might pre-empt such a large portion of the resources of society as to do harm to the whole. Many people will think a statement like this is absolutely ridiculous. First of all, education has never had enough money, and secondly, it is impossible to get too much. In a way they are right, and in another way they are wrong.

The question can be put this way: what are we getting for the money being spent and how much can we afford to put into education in comparison with health, say, or for economic development? We must not lose sight of the fact that the money deployed to the various sectors of education is contingent on the economic base of our society. It is probably not possible for any economic expert to be precise with respect to the proportion of the community's fiscal resources which can be devoted to any particular aspect of that community's development. It is clear, however, that overall development must be kept in balance. It is obvious that our society is not yet sophisticated enough in this matter because the balance among needs is not perfect at any given time. At certain times, the allocation of resources can get seriously out of balance. (For example, we really cannot afford unemployment. Unemployment means that people are cut off from a livelihood or are forced to receive welfare payments, i.e., they are paid by the state not to work. It may be as time goes on that we will accept this notion that people will be paid not to work, because we will not need the work of all people, but in a work-oriented society it is necessary that work be provided for all people in order that they may share in the goals and objectives of the society.)

It is already clearly apparent that education has some serious problems with respect to finance. The most serious one at the moment is the belief on the part of some segments of our population that education is getting about all the share of the GNP to which it is entitled. If one examines the overall situation, one sees teachers' salaries rising (although teachers will complain that they are not rising fast enough); class sizes are being reduced; more teacher aides are being provided; more money is being spent on technology; and school buildings are becoming more elaborate and more luxurious. In view of this, the question is being asked: what are we getting that is better than we would get if we did not spend more?

To answer adequately this question, education will have to evaluate itself better than it has been able to do to date. It is not easy to see how this will be done, but the advent of PPBS (planning-programming-budgeting systems) which demand identification of benefits and means of measuring these benefits will require us to produce satisfactory measures.

One of the biggest problems which school administrators and school boards will have to cope with during the seventies is justification of expenditures on smaller classes and the related problem of instructional technology in relation to improved productivity. It seems clear that educational television and computer-assisted instruction will replace a good deal of the instruction which is presently given in the regular classroom. We simply cannot afford to have teachers turning on television sets. They will not need to watch children who are sitting in front of computer terminals. All logic suggests that education will redeploy a proportion of present salary costs in favor of technology; one of the questions confronting educators has to do with how this can be done most satisfactorily. It is obvious that this situation will require fewer but more highly skilled teachers and more para-professionals. There is real pain here.

Staff Development

There is not an administrator in our schools who is not familiar with in-service training and the rationale which accompanies these practices. We are also familiar with university courses at summer school and winter sessions designed so as to enable teachers with minimum qualifications (which, until recently, has been Grade XII and one year of teacher education) to achieve a degree. It is obvious that our teachers in the seventies will have to be better qualified professionally, particularly in the elementary schools. If, for example, reading continues to be important, and I think it likely will be, then we must help all non-readers become readers. On the whole, schools have been successful in teaching reading to a large percentage of children, but have not been successful with a significant proportion. As you know, for example, the supporters of ITA(Initial Teaching Alphabet) claim to have eliminated the difficulty with this latter group but this method has not found favor in Canada. It seems to me that administrators, particularly principals, will have a tough problem here and that the problem is right in our laps. We simply must find ways of identifying earlier those children who are having difficulty in learning to read and we must find means to eliminate these difficulties. Except in very small schools, this will mean deployment of staff and resources to meet problems which are very real in the schools. Every pupil who is not successful is a failure to be chalked up against the school.

Effects of Urbanization

One cold, hard fact of the seventies is that in the prairie region in Canada many schools will be abandoned because they are located in centres which themselves are going to disappear. Some of these schools will not even be paid for by the time they are abandoned. Many of them may not be convertible into anything but grain storage facilities and they are not even very suitable for that. It seems hard to believe that the rural population will be further reduced by a factor of three or five, but in fact all the indications point in this direction.

Rural administrators will encounter very serious problems in attempting to offer adequate instructional programs at any kind of reasonable cost. We may, in fact, find it more suitable to create twentieth- or twenty-first-century versions of the correspondence education which has been characteristic of our isolated areas, using television and computer-assisted instruction, so that children are brought to schools for only limited periods of time. Alternatively, our whole farming economy might change from farm-based families to village-based families, where the father commutes to the farm either daily or for short periods. While this is a possible solution in the grain-growing areas, it seems impractical in mixed farming or cattle-raising areas. Logic is not very persuasive when these sorts of problems have to be met, but it does suggest the desirability of bringing people to a high-quality service rather than trying to take high-quality service in all fields to small, isolated groups of people.

In some provinces of Canada it may be that the provincial government may take over education. New Brunswick has moved in this direction; Prince Edward Island probably should.

The logic of modern society suggests, furthermore, that there should be a single delivery system for all local services which would mean the disappearance of separate school boards and the integration of educational operations into the total matrix of local government. School plants should be built with community use in mind and should be used more extensively for all kinds of local activity than they are now. The regular school program needs to be integrated with other community educational opportunities such as continuing education, libraries, community clubs, and other kinds of activities. School administrators and trustees will have to broaden their thinking considerably in this direction.

While society seems now to have accepted a view that education should be continuous throughout life and that schools might operate all year round, the school is not yet really organized in these ways. It may not be that society really wants the year-round school (although there is this kind of demand) but there is a desire for the utilization of school facilities on a year-round basis. With increasing urbanization of our society, we can anticipate more demands for the schools to provide kinds of programming not now offered. A long summer vacation is a fine thing for children who are able to go somewhere during that time, but for countless numbers who have to stay in the city, a long summer vacation does not have much to offer in terms of interesting things to do. As a minimum, schools should have summer hobby programs in those districts where significant numbers of children have no other activities available.

MORE COLD, HARD FACTS

It is generally accepted that one of the major responsibilities of teachers and administrators is to keep up with the changing times through in-service education, through new courses, and through reading. One of the major factors for change in the life of a local school administrator is the computer. Even at present, the computer can do many of the things which the principal, up until now, has had to do by hand. When the computer can be assigned administrative tasks that the administrator customarily has done, leaving him with the responsibility for new and original ideas, for the development of programs which involve his staff and students in the community, for looking ahead at the new developments in education and assessing their impact on his program, it is clear that the future will call upon the administrator's higher level and not his lower level skills for continued administrative success. A good clerk and a computer can do much of what some principals have considered to be their total job. In this field, change is not only essential, it is inevitable. Principals and other administrators must change their thinking and their activities or expect change through replacement.

The most important educational fact of the sixties has been that society has come to recognize that education is a crucial factor both in the future of its children, and in the future of its adults. Our society is sold on education but as I indicated earlier, it is becoming more demanding and more critical just as the educational profession is becoming more demanding and more critical of itself. One of the minor problems of education is that it has persuaded its customers that every citizen should assume his social responsibilities; the customers have learned this lesson so well that they want to practice participatory democracy in education. We could not have done better, but we have really given ourselves a headache.

I should like to make a brief digression at this point to refer to a trend in our society which seems to be accelerating at the present time and which has far reaching and serious ramifications in education. Our society, as well as most others, is structured on the basic unit of the family. Indeed, the family is so basic that if it disintegrates or is seriously fractured, the whole structure may collapse if appropriate adjustments are not made. It is clear to sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, social workers, teachers, clergymen, lawyers, marital counsellors, etc., etc., that the family as an institution is in trouble. In fact, at both ends of the socio-economic spectrum the trouble is serious and has been for some time. The trouble is now becoming evident in the middle. Suffice it to say, we in education need to give this problem more attention than it has had to date. As it is now, many school administrators are assiduously rubbing ointment on the equivalent of a scarlet fever rash as they try to cope with disturbed and disturbing students at all age levels who are excessively aggressive or withdrawn because of inadequate families. This problem is certainly one that is going to worsen in a sufficiently rapid and serious way until our whole society, including the school, assesses the situation and begins at least palliative action. To be specific, the drug problem, still only a small cloud, is, in my opinion, one concrete example of what I am talking about.

An important plus-factor for education is that our society, while it is becoming more demanding, is recognizing the worth of the individual and the need for our social and economic system to provide the good life for all human beings. There is a recognition that the good life is not limited to material things, although it certainly includes good and adequate housing; the developing view of the good life include some s of the cultural opportunities which, while they have existed for a long time in our society, have not been universally available. It is true we are spending more money on sports, but we are also spending more money on centennial auditoriums and on theatres and art galleries. We are prepared to provide summer camping experiences for children and hostels for students. We are, in fact, moving toward the very sorts of things that education has been talking about for a very long time. There are many indications that many more people will be able to live richer and more stimulating lives.

In conclusion, the coldest, hardest fact of the seventies is that we will have to face many problems for which we have no answers or very poor answers at the moment. For some other problems, we seem to be on the verge of possible solutions or at least much better answers than we have had in the past. In some cases, our society seems serious about really trying to apply some of the answers that have seemed promising for some time: medicare, housing, urban planning, penal reform, continuing education, and a guaranteed annual income, among others. Real opportunities exist at the present and in the immediate future. Our biggest task will be to wriggle out of the straightjacket into which our thinking puts us as a result of our examination of the past and look more at what our society is going to be and ought to be in the future. My expectation is that education will be able to meet the challenge but it is going to be a tough challenge and we will not find the going easy. Neither society nor the various groups with an interest in education will be satisfied with administrators who waffle or who are autocratic in the hallowed name of efficiency. My guess is that there will be a good deal of sporadic sniping as well as some real barrages directed at school administrators. In our society, at least, I am convinced that an effective administrative operation is the *sine qua non* for the complex interdependent structure that is education and society, at the same time as I reiterate that it is an ancillary operation.

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part two

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES:

Politics
Economics
Planning

WOODROW LLOYD
IAN HOUSEGO
PETER ATHERTON
TIM BYRNE
IVOR DENT
DON GIRARD
LOU HYNDMAN
ALVIN MYHRE

The Politics of Educational Change in the Seventies

WOODROW LLOYD

The need for substantial educational change is presented, together with the proposition that politics is a necessary instrument for achieving change in the conservative institutions of education. Politics is ideas and decision making and communication. Politics is also action. We should consider the structures through which action may be taken. We must develop and use the potential power of a political process which recognizes the good achieved when people have the opportunity to share in determining the ends of their society and the means of achieving these ends. The seventies will see a revolution in education which will "free the teacher," and recognize that students are a valuable resource in developing educational aims and the means to achieve them. Educators could well pay heed to John F. Kennedy's statement that "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

RESOLUTION FOR REVOLUTION

The conference theme "Revolution to Resolution" invites varied interpretation. Does it suggest we have had a revolution and can now proceed from said revolution to more normal patterns? Or does it mean that our discussion should range the spectrum from possible revolution to potential resolution? Does revolution mean drastic change or just the act of going once more around the dance floor? Many are prepared to say that what has happened in education in the last decade (or more) has been the latter rather than the former. Not many will concede that basic changes have taken place. Many more will hope that the seventies may produce such change.

At the beginning of the sixties, some writers were predicting a revolution for that decade. In a recent issue of the Saturday Review, Education Editor James Cass writes about the actual experience. (Admittedly his assessment is an interpretation of United States experience – but, as the U.S.A. goes can Canada be far away?):

> The decade of the Sixties was a revolutionary epoch in American education, but the revolution was not in the schools. . . . powerful forces for educational reform . . . the civil rights movement and the student rebellion – stirred widespread ferment and dramatized the desperate need for radical reformation of the educational enterprise, but ultimately they proved only how resistant our educational institutions are to change.[1]

That statement (if we grant it currency in the Canadian scene) suggests that our conference theme might well be changed from "Revolution to Resolution" to "Resolution for Revolution."

However you phrase the theme, my contribution is noted as dealing with the "politics" of the situation. I am expected to comment on "the public dynamics" which will produce or retard the necessary change. To indicate the range of current "public dynamics" which can influence change in education, I refer again to the editorial in Saturday Review. There James Cass notes that fifty years ago the "concept of free public education for all children embodied the highest ideals of an expanding democracy."[2] Today, he suggests, some critics are even "questioning the traditional concept of schooling itself in an age when knowledge is accessible from so many different sources." The nation he claims is experiencing "a crisis of confidence in its schools." On such a sea are we now afloat.

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[1] James Cass, "The Crisis of Confidence – and Beyond," Saturday Review, LIII, No. 38 (September 19, 1970), p. 61.

[2] Ibid.

Further quotation from the same editorial gives added definition to my topic:

> The fundamental task for education in the Seventies . . . is . . . to help, or force, the schools to become more responsive to the varied needs of children, to open up the system so that its most repressive and destructive characteristics are mitigated, if not eliminated, to remember that children, too, are human beings who deserve to be treated with as much dignity and respect as other humans, to keep clearly in mind that the objective is the development of children, not the preservation of an institution. And, perhaps most difficult of all, ways must be sought to nurture a wider spectrum of youthful talents and tastes, aptitudes and aspirations.[3]

He argues for offering students "the dignity of independence." He notes that the "free schools" now being experimented with may provide us with useful models. He claims knowledge of evidence that "teachers can be trained to function as facilitators of learning in an open classroom rather than as authoritarian oracles behind closed doors."

His concluding paragraph gives another dimension to "the politics of educational change in the seventies":

> Perhaps it is true that the schools cannot change until society itself is reformed. . . . But it is also possible that the schools can play a role in that reformation of society, that we can . . . restore faith in the schools as the cornerstone of a democratic society. The task of the Seventies is to find out.[4]

The editorial written by Cass is an introduction to a series of articles any one of which could be used to support the suggestion that "Resolution for Revolution" could be an appropriate basis for our discussion. Let me enjoy the luxury of further selected quotations from the series.

> ". . . declining faith in educational institutions is threatening the idea of education itself."
>
> ". . . evidence indicates that in some school systems the smart ones drop out and the dumb ones continue"
>
> ". . . a system . . . that . . . sentences everyone to twelve years of schooling . . . can and must be judged by its failures"
>
> ". . . the boredom, the emptiness. : .the sheer waste of the average classroom"
>
> "The schools do what they do out of structural necessity . . . because social mythology permits very little else"
>
> ". . . schools are stiff, unyielding, microcosmic versions of a world that has already disappeared."

To present a better balance I include one more quote – from the concluding article by John Fischer, President of Teachers College, Columbia University:

> The current dissatisfaction . . . is focused on the system. . . . There is convincing evidence that criticism. . .stems mainly from a pervasive desire for better, not less, education.[5]

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[3] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[4] Ibid., p. 62.

[5] John H. Fischer, "Who Needs Schools?" Saturday Review, LIII, No. 38 (September 19, 1970), p. 90.

By zeroing in on the need for change in "the system" Fischer's statement supports an argument for "better, not less" appreciation of the "politics of educational change."

All that, I admit again, is comment on United States experience. And that country, so many Canadians believe – is one of much sin and many excesses. Moreover, some may add, Saturday Review is a kind of "highbrow" publication – it writes much of books and art and theatre and such stuff. Is there any way we can take a reading of the thinking and judgement of real down-to-earth Canadians?

"Is your school obsolete?" shouts the cover of Weekend magazine (September 12th, 1970). Bold, black letters inside the cover state emphatically "Your child is getting an inferior education" and only slightly smaller red letters rephrase the cover question to ask "How obsolete is your school?" (One gathers that the editors presume the cover question is answered by the headline and all that remains is haggling about the amount of obsolescence.)

"Back to School . . . Why?" asks the cover of Maclean's (September, 1970). "Is your child wasting eight years of his life in today's primary schools?" is the headline over the actual article.

Probably neither Maclean's nor Weekend would claim the erudition of Saturday Review. But both are competent of reflecting the point of view of many Canadians. The articles deal with some components of the "politics of educational change."

Let me make the assumption that the need for educational change has been demonstrated. Our society is too aptly described as one "whose pursuit of material wealth pollutes its rivers, fouls its air and creates an atmosphere that generates dangerous social tensions as well as real misery." If you share, even partially, that belief, then you grant implications for education and need for educational change. The question is not, I submit, whether change is needed. The better question is; who will decide the change? And obviously, the prime question is, what change?

Which brings me to Alice in Wonderland:

> "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?" asked Alice. "That depends a good deal," said the Cat (with infallible logic), "on where you want to go."

The vigorous pursuit of the answer (to "where you want to go") is the essence of dynamic democracy. "Civilization is a movement – not a harbor," wrote Tolstoy. An accelerating rate of change is a dominating characteristic of today's society. The educational system should at least prepare people for the new demands produced by that change. At best, and preferably, it should help people take charge of that change.

There is danger in thinking, as sometimes seems to be the case, that we in our day invented change. To correct such error you might recall that Adam as he strolled through the Garden of Eden allegedly commented: "Eve, we are living in a period of transition." (Shortly after, Eve introduced the first mini-skirt. We in our day didn't invent change.) Nevertheless, in our day it is accurate to note a dramatic "increase in the velocity of history" and to be convinced of the implications this poses for the educational system.

Just as change in society is not a modern invention, neither is the debate about the aims of education. For example, Aristotle wrote:

> It is not at all clear whether the pupils should practice pursuits that are practically useful, or morally edifying, or higher accomplishments – for all these views have won the support of some judges; all men do not honour the same virtue, so that they naturally hold different opinions in regard to training in virtue. (Politics VIII)

The debate continues and (hopefully) intensifies and extends. Information and proposals abound, but clarification and wide public acceptance escape us. In someone's phrase we face the "paradox of a poverty of perspective in the midst of a growing abundance of data." Certainly books, articles, and reports on "the Aims of Education" are dust-gatherers on many a shelf and speeches on the same topic proliferate from podiums well scattered from sea to sea. But the comment made (with infallible logic) by the Cat from Alice in Wonderland is, it seems to me, raised with increasing force and frequency. It is worthy of better response.

The method by which we decide that response is an important part of the "politics of educational change." Even after that response is formulated there remains the question of how to achieve change in a system as conservatively oriented, and as highly institutionalized as is education. Indeed, the procedure we choose to decide the nature of change is part of the answer to the question, "How is change achieved?" And politics is – or should be – concerned about all that.

WHAT IS POLITICS ALL ABOUT?

Politics is complex. It deals with people, their needs, their hopes, their motives, their relationships, their understanding and their emotions. That's enough – and more – to justify my statement that "politics is complex." It's enough – and more – to warrant much better consideration of the forces in society by which patterns and purposes of action are evolved.

Politics as Ideas

Politics has to do with ideas. The politics of educational change particularly – and particularly in the seventies – has to do with ideas. There is a growing appetite and expanding market for ideas about education in 1970. An appetite, and a market, have some strong characteristics. Once a taste, or a brand name, has been established it is difficult to dislodge. (We have a cat that having acquired a taste for shrimps and cherries now refuses to eat cat food.) Because people intimately concerned with education tend to underestimate or disregard the appetite for educational ideas an invitation is provided thereby for others to move in. This is to be welcomed. Let us be sure, however, that those to whom people ought to be able to look for reasoned participation and leadership are also there. It is inevitable that the tastes for educational products and processes and the habit of purchasing certain "brand names" in education will become part of the basis for decisions about education.

Politics as Decision Making

Politics has to do with decision making. Those who want to see decisions effectively implemented could well ponder this statement: "Men do not resent an environment when they feel that they share adequately in its making and in the end for which it is made. But they are bound to be at least apathetic, and possibly hostile, when the sense is wide and deep that they are no more than its instruments."[6] The answer to how we achieve change depends in part on the procedure we use to decide the nature of change. The plains of the prairies are white with the bones of decisions made for change but never effected because the politics of the decision making was inadequate. There has been a tendency for people in education to isolate and insulate themselves from the world about. The doors and windows of our classrooms are too tight. They keep too much inside. They keep too much outside.

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[6] Harold Laski, Liberty in the Modern State (New York: Viking Press, revised edition, 1949).

Too frequently what happens in schools is considered as having been ordained in some special educational heaven – or at least by some earthly secular priest. I confess to some overgeneralization since many earnest efforts have been made to open the doors and windows and to remove the sacred shielding umbrellas. I exaggerate to emphasize that the remaining walls, or other barriers to ideas, to which I have alluded, will not be allowed to stand in the seventies. Nor, in my opinion, should they stand. Alice's Cat may be less discussed today than Alice's Restaurant but the infallible logic of the question "where do you want to go" is still persistent and demanding. The search for an answer, in association with our educational constituents, can be most rewarding. Consequently, the politics of educational change in the seventies should include a vigorous extension of such a joint search. In that way ideas can be generated, changed, and accepted. "Political ideas," wrote Walter Lippmann, "acquire operative force in human affairs when they acquire legitimacy, when they have the title of being right which binds men's consciences."[7] In such an effort to establish legitimacy for educational ideas, teachers and administrators should take the lead in documenting the need.

Politics as Communication

Communication is an important part of the politics of educational change. Communication is a two-way street stretching from satellite to the corner store. We need to walk this two-way street collecting materials for formulation of goals and scattering description of needs and results.

It's easy to assume that the public doesn't want to know, doesn't need to know, or wouldn't know what to do with the information anyway. The fact is that communication about education has been incomplete and inadequate. The gap is not just between school and the rest of society. There are gaps within the educational system. You may know a creature called the administrative daschund – it's a long ways from the head to the tail. Messages frequently get confused or diffused in transit. The tail as a result doesn't comprehend what the head had in mind and acts accordingly.

Ideas, communicated from many sources, become the political components of potential educational change. Some organizations are very conscious of the power of attractive communication. They are aware that unofficial control (of education or people) is frequently more potent and effective than official control.

Take, for example, the world of free materials for schools and let me assume that the Canadian effort is (or would like to be) proportionate to that in the United States. "Private organizations, largely in commerce and industry – spend as much for free and inexpensive materials for schools as is spent on textbooks each year."[8] The same writer notes that "more than 5,000,000 booklets and brochures, continuously revised, are sent to teachers" by the National Association of Manufacturers.

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[7] Walter Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955).

[8] Grace Graham, The Public School in the New Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

The same book tells of an essay contest sponsored by the American Medical Association. The topic was "Why the Private Practice of Medicine Furnishes this Country with the Finest Medical Care." A Purdue University survey of high school students before the contest showed 80 per cent in favor of "government providing medical service for all." After three years of the contest only 53 per cent favoured a government medical program. The author also notes that "by 1959 the United Automobile Workers had donated the 'Labour Book Shelf,' a set of five books, to 1300 schools in 30 states." Closer to home, Maclean's magazine (September 1970) tells of an Edmonton group which succeeded in keeping family life education out of the schools. Their slogan was "Teach our children to read not breed."[9]

I don't deny organizations the right to pursue private aims. But there is a point at which private aims become public concerns. Those whose interest is in education for the overall development of children and youth need to appreciate the power of communication and practise its use. It is imperative that those so concerned, and so entrusted, take the lead and document the need.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT

Politics is ideas and decision making and communication. Politics is also action and we should consider the structures through which action may be taken. While the responsibility for action is not confined to governments, governments are certainly in a central position. There is a wide spectrum of opinion about how governments should perform. (There is the position taken by a young lady ardently pursued by a young man whose intention was marriage. To his direct proposal she responded "what can you do for me that the government can't?" I don't propose we go that far in definition of government. Nor do I subscribe to the limitation suggested by the man who said "every man needs a wife. There are some things you can't blame the government for.")

The potential for change in education depends in part on our interpretation of government responsibility. Certainly the presumed public attitude toward expenditure for public services is one important determinant. Take the increasing need for, and increasing resistance to increasing costs for education. Add increasing competition from other public services. Add increasing enticement to buy tempting private services and we have the ingredients for a political puzzle and undoubtedly a political struggle. The need for definition, justification, and communication of ideas about education is again emphasized. To illustrate, let me refer to an article entitled "What has posterity done for me that I should do so much for posterity?"[10] In this article, Holland considered a question uppermost in the minds of many. He was contemplating some recommended added expenditures for education. He concluded, not with much enthusiasm, that he would be prepared to contribute an added $5.00 a month – but no more.

In a larger sense, there are those – individuals, organizations, and political parties

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[9] MacLean's, September 1970.

[10] J. Holland in Brian Crittenden (ed.), Means and Ends in Education (Toronto, Ontario: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969).

– who promote the idea that all taxes are a kind of theft whereby grasping governments deprive hard working citizens of what is rightfully theirs. As J.K. Galbraith puts it, they consider that "at best public services are a necessary evil; at worst they are a malign tendency against which an alert community must exercise eternal vigilance." In their opinion, he adds: "alcohol, comic books and mouthwash all bask under the superior reputation of the market. Schools, judges, and municipal swimming pools lie under the evil reputation of bad kings." [11]

These are political ideas, part of the stuff of which decisions are made. Those who believe that education is an essential and productive public responsibility and that it can provide some insurance for quality of life, had better get into the ring. Those who believe that many of the best fruits of civilization depend on public expenditure (accountably made with enough concern for the public good) should become more involved in this political puzzle and political struggle. Almost forty years ago the Rowell-Sirois Royal Commission Report said that "education must fight for its life." The admonition is good advice for the seventies. It applies to more aspects of education than just the financing.

One can find material and reason for talking about the "politics of educational change" from the level of the local administrative area (indeed of the individual school and classroom) to the level of the nation. Does a nation deny the concept of a complete nation if it closes its eyes to participation in establishing nation-wide educational goals? A nation is more than a geographical glob on a map with some territorial rights expanding a few questionable miles into the oceans beyond land boundaries. It's a thing of the spirit. It's somehow the sum and total of resident hopes, aspirations, and opportunities. And the total is more than the sum of the parts. It has a purpose to which its citizens more or less generally ascribe. It's a presence among the world of nations.

Some federal financial support for education, and indeed some direct federal responsibility is a Canadian fact. This indicates that although there may be no clear road through the constitutional jungle there are meandering trails which can be used. Moreover, there are cultural, political and economic forces to justify wrestling (or continuing to wrestle) with the role of education in helping Canadian people build a more definitive concept of "nationhood." There's a long road, worthy of examination, stretching from an 1895 Dominion Educational Association discussion on "A National Bureau of Education for Canada" to the 1969 reports of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

To enhance consideration of an all-Canadian effort provincial Education Ministers have proclaimed a "Council of Education Ministers." I wish them well – but, as a former long-time member of the club, I'm not too optimistic. Somewhere in the bowels of the Department of the Secretary of State in Ottawa is an embryonic organization of recent origin. It has at least some of the functions which a "Canadian Office of Education" might perform. There are many of us who feel that a stronger and more definitive effort of this kind is needed to give spirit and muscle to the Canadian nation. Given the difficulties thrown up by Canada's geography, history, and cultural climate, this poses a political question of considerable complexity for the seventies. A federal presence need in no way diminish the role of provincial governments. Indeed, co-operatively developed and sensitively executed, it can facilitate and strengthen the provincial role.

My previous comments about ideas and shared decision making, about communication and opening up doors and windows apply also to provincial government activities. "Take the lead and document the need" is a proper political request to our provincial (and local) educational agencies. And it is also in order to remind both that many people are interested in sharing the shaping of the ends toward which our educational effort is devoted. It is also in order to remember that people are likely to be "apathetic and possibly hostile" when they are consigned to a role of "instruments" or consumers and so denied a part in determining the design or even a chance to understand that design.

It is easier to impose a solution than to agree to one. (This is always a temptation for those in positions of authority.) It is also tempting to rely on the alleged magic of mathematical guidelines, arbitrarily arrived at and arbitrarily applied, rather than on decisions arrived at by weighing evidence and consulting the opinion of the educational constituency. No one should deny the validity of public authority democratically constituted and fully accountable, but no-one should forget that the ends achieved are mightily influenced by the means used. A government and its methods are indistinguishable.

The same rules of the game apply to local government practice. Moreover, since local government is closer to its constituency and since its constituency is more compact and cohesive, the possibility of effective politics is greater. I wish I could add that its success is also greater. I'm not convinced that the creative use of the political process to determine goals – or roles – is consciously considered with perception and precision by many local governments. I've yet to hear of a committee of a school board established for such a purpose – I hope this is simply because I've not been tuned to the right wave-length and not because such committees don't exist. Social and political facts of the seventies suggest thinking in that dimension. A worthwhile investment would be to have as part of each administration – perhaps each school establishment – someone who, for want of a better title, I'll call the "educational development director." I know that some superintendents and some teachers perform part of this task. My feeling is that a new kind of professional, one with access to the best of techniques for consulting people, is needed.

CHANGING PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS

Obviously the jurisdictional relationships between levels of government are important. Even when decided these don't stay put – or shouldn't – and won't likely do so in the seventies. "There can be no final fixing of jurisdictions, for changing physical and social environments will invariably alter the balance of power."[12]

This conference is based on the Canadian prairies. Predicted changes for our agricultural people and their communities are as extensive as they are frightening. The largely unplanned growth (from a sociological or human point of view) of urban centres may be easier to see in the larger metropolitan centres but it's here also. Add to the impact of these, such facts as our lack of knowledge about even satisfactory occupational training and our political puzzle becomes more challenging and more demanding. By research, discussion, and decision, the politics of educational change should impreg-

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[11] J. K. Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, second edition, revised, 1969).

[12] John A. Bartky, Social Issues in Public Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963).

nate educational procedure with an urgent compelling awareness of our changing physical and social and political environments.

It is obvious that teachers are central to the initiation and facilitation of educational change. From this it should be clear that "freeing" the teacher becomes increasingly important. Sometimes teachers need to be "freed" just from themselves. I doubt if too many teachers have taken full advantage of all the available opportunities for individual interpretation. Sometimes it is the inhibition of their own tradition which restricts. There are some who welcome the handcuffs of fixed programs to keep their own hands from shaking. Frequently it is lack of time, or lack of equipment, or lack of training, or lack of encouragement that stands in the way of experimentation or logical adaptation. Whatever the reason, the sociological and political climate of the seventies will require constant updating and re-inspiring of our teaching force. Departments of Education and Colleges of Education have a part to play. So too have teachers' organizations – indeed their part may be the greater one. And I am happy to add that there is evidence that some teachers' organizations realize this and have embarked on substantial programs.

But it would be wrong to leave our consideration of "freeing" the teacher (and the school) at this point. Earlier I spoke of the efforts of influential organizations to shape ends and institutions to coincide with and indeed to advance their own interests. I have commented that unofficial control is often more potent and effective than official control. Nor is retribution against the adventurous and aggressive teacher entirely unheard of. Dr. W.R. Wees, in the 1967 Quance Lectures given at the University of Saskatchewan noted this response of a superintendent of a large Canadian school system: "Encourage children to think for themselves? I'd be fired. Make them think what their parents think. That's my job!"[13] School boards and teachers' organizations have a responsibility to provide a supporting umbrella and an encouraging, rewarding atmosphere.

The need for an adequate teachers' professional organization can be underlined for many reasons. While the impact of the individual teacher is important, the stimulation of individual teachers and of the public that can come from the organized teachers' collective effort is crucial. The organization can draw together the ideas, experience, and hopes of teachers. It can formulate and articulate these as guidance for teachers and as part of the menu for public discussion.

All of this is not without problems. Didn't George Bernard Shaw once say that "all professional organizations are conspiracies against the public" – or words to that effect? There is evidence in my opinion that some professional organizations have so conducted themselves. The monopoly which derives from training or skill can be as harmful to the public good as economic monopoly. But the expectation that the public will benefit is evident in Canadian legislation which allows the establishment of professional organizations with varying degrees of monopoly power. The resulting authority, and how it is used, is an obvious political factor which affects change. Such authority can cry "veto" as well as "advance." "Establishment of proper relationships between them (professional associations) and the democratic state is one of the urgent problems affecting the future of social services."[14]

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[13] W.R. Wees, The Way Ahead (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1967).

Finally, let's talk about students, the most immediate of our educational constituents. I need not dwell on growth in student competency, maturity, or expectations. Students probably have always been the most critical of our educational constituents. They have gained skill and desire and articulation in the exercise of critical thought. To omit students from consideration of the "politics of educational change in the seventies" is to turn a blind eye to the telescope and close the other one. Students, I submit, can constitute one of our most valuable resources in developing adequate, satisfying aims; in constructing the means to achieve them; and in regulating the process as we move along the road. We need a way to utilize this resource by local, regional, and provincial bodies. It would be worthwhile to consciously incorporate this development into accepted educational structure – and even to incorporate a budget commitment to finance it.

SUMMARY

Let me attempt a summary. The total "politics of educational change in the seventies" postulates a period of educational aggressiveness. This is already apparent from sections, at least, of the general public and from students. The extent to which you share the belief that there is "a crisis of confidence" in education itself or at least in the educational system will depend on many factors. For some – and I venture their numbers are growing – such a crisis does exist. I'm not sure that enough administrators and teachers are sufficiently aware of that belief or the reasoning behind it. If the educational equation is to be balanced, a greater degree of educational aggressiveness on the part of administrators and teachers is called for. There is an "increase in the velocity of history." More apparent than ever is the weight of Toynbee's words "civilization is a movement – not a harbour." The dynamics of the days ahead will pressure the public educational system for more vital response to new facts (physical, social, and political), new feelings (about school and society), and livelier emotions. If the system doesn't respond, increasing numbers of people will find other ways of buying what the public system should provide. If so, something intrinsically valuable in the democratic way of life will be deferred, if not destroyed.

I think we must develop and use the potential power of a political process which recognizes the good achieved when people have the opportunity to share in determining the ends of their environment and the means of achieving those ends.

It is not a matter of tinkering with a course here or the design of a building there or adding a teaching machine over yonder.

"You cannot separate the just from the unjust,
 and the good from the wicked.
For they stand together before the face of the sun
 even as the black thread and the whole thread are woven together,
And when the black thread breaks, the weaver shall look into the whole
 cloth and he shall examine the loom also."

(Kahlil Gibran in "The Prophet")

We are at that point in Canadian educational history where an examination of "the whole cloth and the loom also" is required. There are broken threads and loose ends. The call for examination of the whole educational cloth and the system which evolves it comes with growing urgency from increasing numbers of our educational constituency.

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[14] R.M. Titmuss, Essays on "The Welfare State" (Boston: Beacon Press, reprint of second edition, 1969).

"Revolution to Resolution" or "Resolution for Revolution"? I don't think we've had a recent revolution in education. We've done better than go just once more around the dance floor. Some may be content and may point to the alleged affluence of our society as evidence that all is well. However, as John W. Gardner once observed "part of our problem is how to stay awake on a full stomach." My premise is that discontent is warranted, sizeable, and growing. Like an iceberg only some of it is visible. I believe that more people in the seventies will endorse an increasing collective responsibility for overall social action. They will also demand an increasing collective right to make decisions about that society. "Revolutionary" is defined as "bringing or causing great changes." I suggest that the politics of educational change of the seventies opts for change of that magnitude. In the words of John A. Bartky: "There are no greater issues . . . than those involved in determining educational purposes and defining the functions of the schools."[15] Our participation in educational politics could well be guided and stimulated by the comment of John F. Kennedy: "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

JOHN WIENS comments:

I find myself in agreement with virtually everything in Mr. Lloyd's address, and yet I feel gloomy about a few matters which appear to me to be vital if we are to move from Revolution to Resolution in the 1970's.

I am concerned about the increasing alienation of the ordinary citizen who feels more and more powerless in his efforts to influence the trends in society which affect him and his children. It seems to be one of the facts of life in the twentieth century that power resides in organizations, and that the struggle for power among competing interest groups often leads the individuals who comprise these groups farther away from their private goals. To remain aloof from organizations is to be powerless, and to join them is to lose one's individuality. Either alternative leads to alienation.

It seems to me that somehow we must learn to give back to the individual a significant amount of the decision-making power which large organizations, such as governments and professional organizations, presently reserve for themselves. My question to Mr. Lloyd: "Is there any hope that significant power can be given to individuals during the 1970's?"

(I suggested later that one way to give some important decision-making powers back to the common man would be to allow individual schools to develop their own philosophy and programme, thus encouraging individuality and variety, to involve parents and students in the actual work of developing the curriculum, and to give parents the freedom to choose the schools which their children would attend.)

John Wiens is Director of Instruction for the Greater Victoria School District.

ORAN REIMAN comments:

My first reaction to Mr. Lloyd's paper compels me to say – how very fortunate I feel in having had the opportunity of hearing a paper of such value and interest.

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[15] Bartky, op. cit.

Indeed, in contrast to recent trends on certain educational fronts, I found your paper to suggest some exciting and positive possibilities for the future. Mr. Lloyd, I have chosen to react to that part of your paper in which you discussed communication.

You have stated that communication in the field of education has been incomplete and inadequate. You have also suggested that ideas, when communicated,become political components of potential educational change. I was particularly interested in your statement that "unofficial control of education is frequently more potent and effective than official control." Specifically then, I would like to ask you this – in view of the importance you place on communication, and in view of what you term an inadequate job now being done in communication by educators, what additional efforts by educators can you suggest which, in your opinion, would be effective in better communicating educational needs to government?

Oran Reiman is the principal of the Rosetown (Saskatchewan) Composite High School.

WILLIAM D. KNILL comments:

This is a significant commentary on public education coming at the end of a notable decade and from a man who has been known as the "Dean of Ministers of Education in Canada." Dr. Lloyd has brought to us in his address a perspective and a depth of insight that only a lifetime spent in education and government could provide.

At an earlier time, in 1959 to be exact, Dr. Lloyd delivered another significant statement on education in the Quance Lecture series. *The Role of Government in Canadian Education* was one of the first attempts to assess the relationship between government structure and provincially controlled education in English-speaking Canada. It remains to this day one of the definitive statements on this topic and should be assigned reading for all graduate students in educational administration. My comments begin with this earlier statement of Dr. Lloyd's because it is apparent that here we have a man who for many years has managed to hold firm in his viewpoint and philosophy. This is indicated by his continuing reference to such notable authorities as Laski, Lippmann, and Galbraith. And at the same time there is, at least in my opinion, a continuous note of optimism in this paper, which I think expresses a deep innate characteristic of Dr. Lloyd. These two characteristics, stability and optimism, are highly desirable in both political and educational philosophy.

Another quotation from The Saturday Review that Dr. Lloyd refers to, is taken from an article, "End of the Impossible Dream", by Peter Schrag, one of America's new social critics. He states:

> It is ten years later, and the great dream has come to an end. We thought we had solutions for everything – poverty, racism, injustice, ignorance; it was supposed to be only a matter of time, of money, of proper programs, of massive assaults. Perhaps nothing was ever tried without restraint or dilution, perhaps we were never willing to exert enough effort or spend enough money, but it is now clear that the confidence is gone, that many of the things we knew no longer seem sure or even probable. What we believed about schools and society and the possibilities of socially manageable perfection has been reduced to belying statistics and to open conflict in the street and the classroom.

This gloomy and discouraging statement by Schrag is becoming characteristic of the viewpoint expressed by many educators in the

United States and Canada. Consistent with this expression is the demand for fundamental, radical change of the whole structure of education. To the most radical minority of these, it means "burn it all down." And it is my observation that there is a growing number of people, particularly the younger people, who are expressing political and educational philosophies of gloom, pessimism and radical, fundamental change. I am sure Dr. Lloyd has been in a position to observe these phenomena developing within the past decade here and elsewhere.

I am strongly attracted to Dr. Lloyd's position – it expresses awareness of the forces within our society which threaten us and our educational systems, but holds to a note of optimism and faith in man's rationality. However, the growing dissonance cannot be ignored. Maybe I am asking Dr. Lloyd an impossible question, and I am not asking him to defend his philosophical position, but what I would like him to expand upon is the evidence he has observed within the past decades which indicates that our society and our educational systems are progressively improving and moving toward a more ideal situation for all Canadians.

William D. Knill is Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta.

Education Policy Development: A Politics of Insiders?

IAN HOUSEGO

Using the political science literature, the author first outlines a theory of the process by which public policies are developed. Public policies are seen as resulting from the interplay of interest groups – including both "official" groups, that is, agencies of government, and private pressure groups. This conception is applied to an examination of public policy development in education. Initial studies suggest that educational policies in Canada are developed through agreements reached by a "restricted coalition" made up of elites drawn from major interest groups and the provincial department of education. The politics of education tends toward a "closed system" with interests of stronger groups favored over those of the weaker. This tends to solidify the power of those who already hold power.

THE NATURE OF PLURALIST POLITICS

The Group Basis of Politics

Politics is defined by some as a struggle for power among competing groups. One can see the political struggle, not by concentrating on the actors, but rather by focusing on the political act "... the act of control ... of human or social control."[1] The act of control is the ubiquitous political phenomenon which can be observed over extended periods of time and which provides a basis upon which generalizations may be made.

According to those who define politics in this way, the study of politics must take into account the following two assumptions: (1) that each person seeks to have his own way in life; and (2) that men are bound to live together in groups. Each individual will seeks its own fulfillment and in so doing meets resistance from opposing wills. The system of political activity arises out of the clash of wills. Individual striving after ego-satisfaction leads to group formation. Groups come into being precisely in order to aid and abet the individual's ego-satisfaction. "Society may be viewed as an aggregate of individuals organized into various groups, sometimes contrary, sometimes mutually inclusive, sometimes overlapping."[2] The individual is viewed as one who selects, on a rational basis, the groups which will enable him most successfully to realize his will.

One may argue that power struggles in society are based on something more than simplistic attempts by individuals to attain ego-satisfaction. Those who do take issue with this narrow view of the basis of power conflicts say that: "The political act takes its origin in a situation in which the actor strives for the attainment of various values for which power is a necessary ... condition."[3] When values are shared, the political process is one wherein competing groups seek to enforce forms of behavior consistent with their values.[4] One comes to an understanding of politics, then, not by studying individuals and/or groups as "social atoms," but rather from studying the interaction among competitors for the achievement of social goals.*

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*Classical liberalism holds that political society is an association of individuals; each is self-determining, each is self-interested. A community of such persons locates supreme power and authority in the State. The commands of the State are legitimated by a system of decision-making and control which ensures that the subject is involved in the making of "laws" to which he submits.

According to classical liberal theory, the crucial relationship which the individual has is with the State – the individual citizen and the Sovereign State. All other associations are viewed as secondary. The practice of modern

What I have been discussing so far is, of course, the group basis of politics. Those who subscribe to a group theory of politics dismiss the notion of the "general will." They do not admit the possibility of a "national interest" or a "provincial interest" beyond that of the interests of the many social aggregates encompassed within the boundaries of the nation or the province. In other words, the group theorists contend that ". . . every public policy helps someone and hurts someone; laws operate to the advantage of some groups and to the disadvantage of others."5

The group theorists do not say that all public policy is the result of conflict among organized "pressure groups." They do contend, however, that opposing conceptions of community welfare – at, say, the national or provincial level, constitute the heart of the political process.

All those who are involved in the political process – both private and public "associations" – subscribe to the notion that the process must be played out according to some set of "rules of the game." There is a commonly agreed upon assumption that those involved in conflict will play the game according to the rules. Interest groups in conflict are not, in other words, the only ingredients of the political process. The achievement of any group's goals depends upon its role within the total way of life of the community – including agreement among a substantial portion of the membership of the community that they should continue to

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government is divergent, to be sure, from this classical theory. This is so for a number of reasons:

(1) the size of the modern state (in terms of enfranchised population);
(2) the rise of powerful "private" organizations, especially in the industrial sphere of society;
(3) the federal structure of government with its hierarchy of local governments;
(4) the existence of "voluntary" organizations which come into being to meet the needs of groups of persons with similar values and interests.

The pluralist view suggests that the individual contacts the State through a variety of intermediating bodies, that the government is involved in a network of "private" associations which exert pressures on the government with respect to the decisions it takes.

The group theorists have postulated two "theories" to explain this relationship – the referee theory and the vector-sum theory. In the former, the government lays down the ground rules for conflict and competition among competing interests. It uses its power to see to it that no major interest abuses its influence or gains an unchecked mastery over some aspect of social life.

According to the latter, the government is the focal point for all the pressures exerted by interest groups. Decisions of government are shaped by the manifold forces brought to bear on government. The government "resolves" all the forces in social decisions.

According to this account, then, Canada, or western Canada, or Alberta is ". . . a complex interlocking of ethnic, religious, racial, regional, and economic groups whose members pursue their diverse interests through the medium of private associations, which in turn are coordinated, regulated, contained, encouraged, and guided by a federal system of representative democracy. Individual citizens confront the central government and one another as well through the intermediation of the voluntary and involuntary groups to which they belong." See R.P. Wolff, The Poverty of Liberalism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 130-131.

exist as a community.[6]

Seymour Lipset puts this point rather succinctly:[7]

> . . . (A) stable democracy requires the manifestation of conflict or cleavage so that there will be struggle over ruling positions, challenges to parties in power, and shifts of parties in office; but without consensus – a political system allowing the peaceful play of power, the adherence by the outs to the decisions made by the ins, and the recognition by the ins of the rights of the outs – there can be no democracy.

Interest Groups, Organizations, and Structures of Power

It is clear that I am assuming public policy develops as a result of the interplay of group interests and that organized pressure groups play a very important part in this process. A pressure group is defined as "... an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the content of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal, elected governmental capacities."[8] (Note that not all organizations are pressure groups but all may become pressure groups.)

Indeed, Latham argues that "...insofar as they are organized groups they are structures of power. They are structures of power because they concentrate human wit, energy, and muscle for the achievement of received purposes."[9] Organized groups, then, represent a concentration of resources of various kinds toward the realization of political influence.[10]

So far, this paper has developed the view that the structure of the political community is associational. The government, a provincial government, say, is involved in a network of associations which seek to achieve their objectives – some directly, others in the form of pressure groups organized to influence the government.

This is not to say that private (non-government) groups are above the government; neither is it to say that they are in a relationship of parity. It is to say that the government and other group forms represent power in different packages. Organized groups may be seen as private "government" and organs of the State may be seen as public "government." (Recall that it is the common factor of power which places all associations – State and non-State – in the same category of forms.)

Private government forms differ from public government forms only in that the latter are characterized by officiality. That is to say, through a variety of offices, the State maintains an apparatus for writing and enforcing the formal rules by which society is governed and according to which struggles to exercise influence occur. The principal function of official groups is to provide various levels of compromise in the working out of the rules. The three most obvious levels are: the legislature, the civil service, and the judiciary.

The task of the legislature, ideally, is to referee the group struggle and ratify the victories of the successful coalitions, recording the terms of the surrenders, compromises, and conquests in statute form. "What may be called public policy is actually the equilibrium reached in the group struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to weigh in their favor."[11]

The bureaucrats or civil servants exist ideally simply to carry out the terms of the "treaties" negotiated and sanctioned by the legislators. The judiciary, like the civilian bureaucracy, exists to administer the agreed rules and to rationalize these rules or laws as much as possible.

We might well ask: is the above all that bureaucrats and judges do when it comes to the formation of public policy? To what extent are legislators impartial referees mediating the power struggles among those who seek to influence the creation and development of public policy? Social science research suggests that all three kinds of officials enter very importantly into the development of the content of public policy. We need to ask and seek answers to questions on the nature and consequences of their involvement in the politics of educational policy development.

It is an assumption of the argument being developed here that among official groups the same phenomena of struggle for self-expression and security occur. Within the structure of official agencies such as government departments, competition of group interests takes place. Indeed, subgroups of official groups may be in competition with each other. This struggle of subgroups within a department is to be found even in the lower levels of administration.

> The group struggle, then, is apparent in the universe of unofficial groups and in that of official groups. Furthermore, these are not separate universes. They are one. Official groups are simply inhabitants of one pluralistic world . . . a single universe of groups which combine, break, federate, and form constellations and coalitions of power in a flux of restless alterations.[12]

THE PLURALISTIC POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The Restricted Coalition

It is my contention at this point that the pattern of policy development in education at the provincial level is typically that of the politics of interest groups. Moreover, I further contend that the influence system is made up of a limited, select number of interest groups. On major, province-wide policy issues, settlement rests on the conflict and compromise of a limited number of interest groups – typically the executives of the provincial teachers' association and provincial trustees' association and the senior administrators within the Department of Education. Depending on the nature of the issue being settled, representatives from other groups/associations/organizations may be involved.

I am speculating that if one were to study carefully the education policy issues settled over the past few years and legitimated by provincial legislatures, one would discover a small core of persons at work. These persons, of course, represent those few interest groups almost always involved in achieving the compromise on which a given education policy is based.

In other words, interest group politics in education at the provincial level is characterized by linkages between the elites of unofficial interest groups and the bureaucracy of the Department of Education – the official interest group – rather than between the elites of the unofficial groups and the legislature directly. Indeed, it may be true to say that legislators are very little involved in determining the content of education policy decisions developed by the "invisible politics" of select unofficial interest groups presided over by officials of the Department of Education.

A peculiar quasi-official organization, then, appears to exist to allow for policy development beneath the level of the Cabinet, more specifically beneath the Minister of Education. It is made up of interest groups which are intensely self-centered; they work, however, in a form of "coalition" which is largely initiated and maintained by the Department of Education. The object of the Department is to force on the select interest groups some form of cooperative decision-making so that the Department may recommend to the Minister, the Cabinet, and the Legislature policy decisions which represent the consensus views of the "cooperating" interest groups. The

Department not only mediates the conflict within this structure in an attempt to achieve consensus on a given policy issue, it is itself one of the interest groups in the conflict; the locus of accommodation among the interest groups is within its own operation. The influence of this quasi-official organization is extensive in that typically only policy recommendations it agrees upon will go to the Cabinet and the Legislature for ratification.

Cooperative Decision-Making in Education: Two Recent Studies

An example of this approach to policy development in education was reported in the spring of 1965.[13] This study reported that in the Saskatchewan Department of Education with respect to the issue of teacher training and the development of teacher training policy, the use of a "Minister's Committee" provided a device wherein organizational elites were able to compete and bargain in order to reach consensus and thereby provide the basis for a teacher training policy. The organizational elites on the Minister's Committee represented the University of Saskatchewan, the Teachers' Federation, the Trustees' Association, and the Department of Education.

The results of the study suggest that the government did provide the conditions necessary for the making of a policy decision involving unofficial as well as official interests. The interest groups were able to work out, so to speak, the "best solution" to the issue – a compromise which in fact became government policy.

A subsequent study began the task of further clarifying the outlines of the "cooperative organization" by means of which educational policy in some areas is developed.[14] This study suggests that the characteristics of the cooperative organization lie somewhere between those of a formal organization and those of an informal group. The characteristics appeared to be the following:

(1) All members are responsible for the achievement of the cooperative organization's objective, but each is constrained to work within the framework of his own position (dictated by the interest group – formal organization – he represents). Thus, division of labour is supplanted by division of interest. This requires the creation of unitary responsibility with all members accepting the priority of the common objective;

(2) The cooperative organization lacks a hierarchy of formal authority. The consensus achieved can be implemented only through cooperative action or through the action of a higher body such as the government;

(3) Because they lack a dominant source of authority and responsibility, cooperative organizations rely on informal procedural mechanisms. The influence of any one member is not constant – decisions are the result of the differential influence of the various members at the various stages of the decision-making process;

(4) As a result of the intense self-interest of individual members of the "coalition," the process of achieving consensus manifests a unique relationship among the membership and the leadership of individual members is of crucial importance. Rationality is a function of the degree to which the final decision reflects a composite point-of-view. I am here referring to what might be called an interorganizational rationality as distinct from the internal rationality characteristic of any one organization represented on the coalition;

(5) An expertise is required in the cooperative organization which is a reflection not only of the self-interest of particular

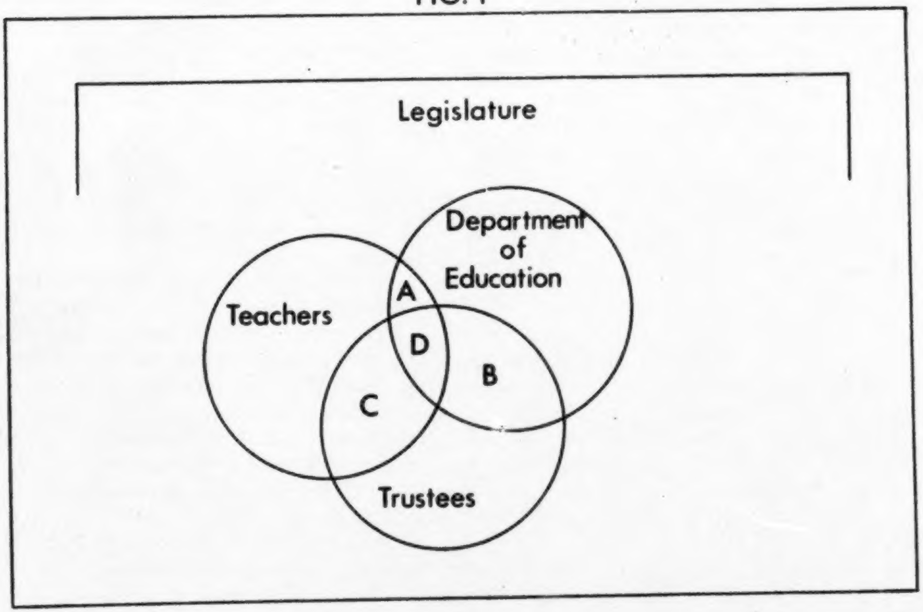
members but also of their shared responsibility vis-à-vis the objective of the cooperative organization.

Clearly, the over-riding feature of the cooperative organization is that it is a response to a jurisdictional overlap among its members. It may be defined "... as an organization which has arisen in response to a jurisdiction common among its members, but one which does not have the authority ... to ensure the acceptance of its decision."[15]

To place what has been said so far into a larger perspective, the following picture can be drawn: the politics of education at the provincial level is represented as a cooperative system dependent upon the interaction of the Department of Education, the teachers and their professional organizations, and the school trustees and their associations. In Figure 1, A depicts the area of teacher-department cooperation, B depicts the area of trustee — department cooperation, and C depicts the area of teacher-trustee cooperation. What is of interest to the point-of-view being developed in this paper is that educational decisions of the broadest scope, with rather direct relevance to provincial educational policy, are made at the point of intersection among the three groups – area D on the diagram.

These organizations and their cooperative deliberations – deliberations which have direct

FIG. 1



Process of Cooperative Decision-making

relevance to the creation and development of educational policy – are subject, of course, to the provincial legislature. "The role of the legislature, given an established system of education expertise, is primarily one of ratification or rejection rather than initiation."[16]

CONCLUSION

It seems to me that at least two issues arise because of the existence of what we refer to as cooperative decision-making in the development of education policy at the provincial level. The first issue has to do with the contention that the politics of education is in reality a "politics of insiders." This contention gives rise to the second issue – that if the politics of education is a politics of insiders, then we have an indefensible approach to educational policy development. Let me address these issues in turn.

I have postulated that the provincial politics of education is the politics of a limited number of interest groups at work within a "coalition" of power. The Department of Education has been instrumental in creating a webwork of cooperating interest groups to provide the machinery for mediating the differences among those interests. The discussion and debate of proposed solutions to provincial educational problems takes place before the solutions are put to the legislators. Thus, the politics of education is a politics of low visibility and informal agreement.

Indeed, this approach places the bureaucrats, the administrators of education, in a unique position:

> Without the development of viable political mechanisms for provoking [province-wide] discussion and debate and without provisions for legitimate public dissent with confrontation between opposing views on educational matters, [school administrators are] usually reduced to manipulating [politicians] by posing as more of expert(s) than any . . . single group of professionals can ever be.[16]

This being the case, it is very interesting to speculate as follows: if the locus of accommodation of differences among diverse interests is in a single, limited, "cooperative" social system; if the social system chooses its own representatives; and if the system is controlled by its own operational group – then, indeed, the politics of education may be approaching a closed system.

Iannaccone and Lutz suggest that:[17]

> As a social system becomes increasingly closed, it decreases its exchanges with its environment. . . .The movement towards becoming more closed results in an increased internal stability of the social system.

In the case of a provincial system of education, internal relationships among department officials and representatives of non-government groups become increasingly stabilized. Policies, procedures, habits of behavior, and value orientations become less flexible and less easily changed. Viewed externally, fewer exchanges of ideas, people, group desires, and information go on between the provincial system and its constituency. If this is an accurate picture of the trend of events, the implications for change in education as a social institution are serious indeed.*

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*In the Godkin Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1961, C.P. Snow talked at some length about the nature of "closed" politics. By closed politics he means politics

The pluralist politics of education, then, is open to serious criticism, the more so when the competing parties to a given policy issue are limited in number, operating more or less invisibly from the public eye, in a system that is becoming increasingly closed. This approach, one might argue, is indefensible as an ideal of social policy and as a means of social policy development.

The unique manner in which the pluralist theory is applied in education policy development suggests that interest groups in existence are favored against those in the process of formation. Groups outside the major, traditional groups which enter into the achievement of compromise and consensus are seen as exceptions and relegated to second-class status.

> Pluralism is not a philosophy of privilege and injustice – it is a philosophy of equality and justice whose concrete application supports inequality by ignoring the existence of certain legitimate social groups.[18]

Even assuming that all legitimate interests are represented in the development of a given policy, one may still argue that government, as a referee amongst competing interests, favors in a systematic way the interests of the stronger groups against the weaker. In other words, the government, in its role as conflict broker, tends to solidify the power of those who already hold it.

These criticisms, of course, can be put in the form of questions and investigated empirically. Perhaps it is time we did just that – in order to uncover the reality of the politics of education on the Canadian scene. Is the politics of education a politics of interest groups? Is the influence structure at the provincial level basically a unique arrangement limited to a select number of cooperating interest groups, official and unofficial? Is the system tending to become a closed system? What is the ideology of those few who appear to be so crucial to education policy development in the provinces? What are the implications of their ideology for

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wherein there is no means of appeal to a larger assembly – such as a group opinion, an electorate, etc. I am not suggesting education policy develops on the basis of *pure* closed politics. I am suggesting that it may develop on the basis of arrangements which one may define as closed politics but yet are somewhat less than pure!

Snow defines three forms of closed politics:

(1) *Committee politics.* "The archetype. . .is that kind of committee where each member speaks with his individual voice, depends upon his personality alone for his influence, and in the long run votes with an equal vote." See C. P. Snow, *Science and Government* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 57.

(2) *Hierarchical politics.* "To get anything done in any articulated organization, you have got to carry people at all sorts of levels. It is their decisions, their acquiescence or enthusiasm (above all, the absence of their passive resistance), which are going to decide whether a strategy goes through in time. (Ibid., p.60)

(3) *Court politics.* In this form of closed politics you have attempts made ". . .to exert power through a man who possess a concentration of power." (Ibid., p.63)

The point Snow makes which interests me most of all in his discussion of forms of closed politics is the following. He says the most obvious fact which appears is that ". . .personalities and personal relations carry a weight of responsibility which is out of proportion greater than any they carry in open politics." (Ibid., pp.56-57) public education? What are the implications for the role of the legislators in such a system? Indeed, what role do political parties play in policy development? What role does the public-at-large play?

I am here arguing for two things: (1) more research in order to describe the situation as it really is, and (2) a clarification of the philosophical and ideological bases upon which we do proceed in the development of educational social policy now and upon which we ought to proceed in the interests of the community-at-large in the future.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] H. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 240.

[4] Zeigler, op. cit., p. 20.

[5] Ibid., p. 23.

[6] Ibid., p. 26.

[7] Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 1.

[8] Zeigler, op. cit., p. 30.

[9] Earl Latham, ',The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory," American Political Science Review, Vol. 46, No. 1 (1952), p. 382.

[10] Zeigler, op. cit., p. 32.

[11] Latham, op. cit., p. 390.

[12] Ibid., p. 396.

[13] I. Housego, "Democratic Decision-Making in Education," The Canadian Administrator, Vol. 4, No. 8 (May, 1965), pp. 29-32.

[14] J.A. Riffel, "Cooperative Decision-Making in Education"(unpublished master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon , 1967) .

[15] J.A. Riffel and I.E. Housego, "Cooperative Decision-Making in Education," The Canadian Administrator, Vol. 7, No. 2 (November, 1967), p. 8.

[16] Ibid., pp. 5 - 6.

[17] L. Iannaccone and F. Lutz, Politics, Power and Policy: the Governing of Local School Districts (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), p. 21.

[18] Ibid., p. 27.

[19] R.P. Wolff, The Poverty of Liberalism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 154.

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The Allocation of Educational Resources: A Problem of Economic Choice

PETER ATHERTON

Because of growing competition for public funds and the ever increasing pressure to use resources allocated to education most effectively, specialists in educational finance are showing increased interest in the allocation of resources within school systems. After presenting several examples of allocation decisions in Alberta school systems, the author evaluates these decisions using the "elements of economic choice." These elements provide the most effective way of budgeting scarce resources and only where resources are not scarce can we afford to ignore them. The paper concludes with several suggestions for improving resource allocation decisions within school systems.

For many years the role of those engaged in the study of educational finance was supposed to be that of finding ways of persuading governments to allocate more resources to education and with designing effective ways of distributing those resources. While it is still the concern of those of us who engage in the study of educational finance to fulfil this role, there has been a trend over the past five years or so to add another dimension to our work. This dimension is concerned with the analysis of problems of allocating resources within the educational system.

This additional dimension has been added to our work by a combination of forces. One of the most important of these forces is the growing competition for resources in the public sector.

Traditionally western society has viewed the public sector as something of a necessary evil. This society holds that allocation decisions are best handled by the market and the free enterprise system. Because of this deeply engrained aspect of our culture there is a natural tendency to resist any increases in expenditure in the public sector. Nevertheless, the rising levels of expectations held by all members of our society for a wider participation in the benefits of an increasingly prosperous economy have led to a significant increase in the role of government in ensuring a more equitable distribution of the national product. Thus, there has been a tremendous growth in government services which tend to have a direct effect on income redistribution, including medicare, subsidized housing, welfare services, and unemployment benefits. In addition, a whole range of government services associated with urbanization and industrialization have been developed, such as urban transit systems and pollution control. There has also been a substantial increase in the share of resources allocated to the traditional forms of public goods, including education. In all cases, it is not difficult to justify the increased levels of allocation. However, faced by the conflicting demands for the public dollar, governments have become increasingly concerned with the effectiveness with which this dollar is expended. It is not surprising, then, that in circumstances such as these, governments turn with increasing frequency to those whose chief interest is the study of the problems of allocating scarce resources to competing ends; I refer, of course, to the economists. In fact, one of the definitions of economics is precisely the problem described above: the allocation of scarce resources to many and usually competing ends.

The growing importance of economics and economists in allocation decisions may be seen in all levels of government and in most forms of government activity. Economists were originally placed in advisory roles but there is a growing tendency for economists to take a share in policy decisions, and to enter actively into political life.

I should like to attempt at this point to set your mind at ease by stressing that the stereotype of an economist as a man with a sharp axe, ready to cut expenditures, is both inaccurate and unfair. This picture is particularly true with reference to education. Since 1950 there has been a tremendous growth in the interest of economists in the relationship between economic growth and education. Practically all studies of this relationship have strengthened the claim of education on resources. For example, it is noteworthy that the Economic Council of Canada has, since its inception, emphasized that education should be viewed as one of the highest items in government priorities.

In spite of the support of economists all over the world for the increased development of educational systems there is some uneasiness that the allocation of resources within the educational sector may not be as effective as it might be. To the economist it appears clear that technology, which is largely responsible for our increasing prosperity, has not made any visible impact on educational productivity. Therefore, it is to the problem of the allocation of resources within the educational system that those of us who attempt to utilize economic theory and analysis in the examination of educational problems address ourselves.

It is to this problem that I shall address myself for the remainder of this discussion. I might add that I address this particular problem because of the developing interest of provincial governments in systems of resource allocation which are economic in their orientation. I am referring here to the introduction of program budgeting techniques, and systems analysis.

ALLOCATION DECISIONS WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

I should like to develop my analysis on the basis of some resource allocation decisions for which I am able to provide concrete evidence. These examples are based on the findings of a number of analyses which I and some of my graduate students have undertaken for the Human Resources Research Council of Alberta and the Provincial Department of Education. The analyses were primarily cost analyses using a program unit as their base. Generally speaking, this type of cost analysis is specifically designed to bring out differences in the quantity of resources allocated to the various aspects of program and administrative organization. Some of the examples which I use may be surprising and others not so surprising. Furthermore, the analyses, in themselves, do not provide any basis for decision-making. Instead they raise issues relative to decision-making which may be examined later in the context of an economic model of decision-making.

Example I

It was found in two Grade I classes with almost identical enrollments in two different schools within a single school authority that the cost per pupil in one was almost double that in the other. The dollar figure in one was $300 per pupil compared with $600 per pupil in the other. The same analysis showed that in terms of cost per subject the costs of the fundamental skill subjects per student in the higher cost school were more than double those for the same skill subjects in the lower cost school.

Example II

It was found in one school system providing vocational education courses that the per student cost for vocational courses ranged from $1,000 to $2,000 per student exclusive of the costs of capital equipment.

Example III

It was found in a large high school that the cost of providing a system of built-in substitutes cost approximately $120,000 per year, a figure which was in the region of twice the cost of an on-call system.

Example IV

It was found in one rural school system that the cost of supervised study per student was as great as the average cost per student for teaching courses.

Example V

It was found in one school system that the cost per student at the elementary school level tended to be higher in higher socio-economic districts than in lower socio-economic districts.

Before we discuss these examples of resource allocation I should like to make a few observations. First, the reasons for cost differentials are to be found primarily in the interaction of two major variables: the first of these is a salary variable which is dependent on the teacher's level of education and experience; the second is an enrollment variable. That is to say in Example I the high and low cost Grade I class differential is a reflection of a difference in the salary of the teacher. In one case there was a graduate teacher in charge of the class and in the other a teacher with two years of teacher education. Similarly, in the high cost vocational courses the low enrollment factor was responsible. In example III, the cost of the substitute program was the result of providing each teacher in the school with an additional preparation period on the understanding that substitution requirements would take precedence over the preparation requirements. In example V the cost differential appeared to be the result of requests of experienced and well qualified teachers for transfer away from schools in lower socio-economic areas to suburban areas closer to their place of residence.

It is also true that cost differentials and cost data in themselves are not necessarily a complete measure of resource allocation differentials. Nevertheless, the fact remains that costs, measured in dollars, do provide a common denominator which facilitates comparison.

With these limitations and explanations in mind we can return to our original consideration. The examples which I selected are reflections of decisions made somewhere and by someone in our educational system. Perhaps the most useful questions which may be raised in this connection are those associated with the rationale and factors which led to the decisions.

However, before proceeding to a discussion of this rationale we should first examine some of the elements of economic decision-making.

The Problem of Economic Choice

I do not propose to discuss with you any of the more theoretical aspects of economic choice which would include consideration of indifference curves and marginal analysis. Instead I shall confine myself to an analysis of the elements of economic choice.

Such an analysis would reveal the following elements:

1. An Objective

The economist views man as a maximizer. Although originally it was assumed that maximizing behavior was directed towards the accumulation of profit we now accept that financial gain is not all that man will attempt to maximize. However, in any organization there must be an objective or objectives, the maximization of which is the measure of organizational success. Very often the analysis of maximizing behavior provides a much clearer measure of the real objectives of an organization than does any written or professed statement of organizational objectives.

2. A Search for Alternatives

There are always alternative methods of attaining objectives. A traditional man is often tempted to assume that there is only one. In some cases alternative methods may be attained by variations in combinations of inputs, and in other cases the alternatives are derived by substituting one type of input for another.

In an educational setting we might combine teachers and machines in various ways or we might substitute machines for teachers. That the second idea is repugnant need not be the most decisive factor.

In spite of our apprehension in this matter, the search for alternatives is a most important aspect of economic choice.

Costing the Alternatives

Each alternative method of attaining objectives must be costed. Most frequently we view cost in terms of the direct resource requirements; that is to say, when we think of instructional cost we are apt to think primarily in terms of the teacher's salary and the cost of instructional materials. However, the economist also makes reference to the concept of shadow-costing when estimating cost. Shadow costs are those costs which are measurable in terms of the last output which arises when an input is used in a less productive manner than is possible. Thus the shadow cost of employing a professional on an essentially unprofessional routine task is very high. However, a caution here is in order. If a lower priced employee is hired to perform this task a saving will result only if the professional is reallocated to a more productive activity. In the context of limited resources, if we use our resources for one purpose it is not possible for us to use them for another, perhaps more useful purpose.

Selecting the Criteria

It is frequently assumed that the basis for choosing one alternative over another should be the least-cost alternative. In fact it is in this element that economic choice is primarily different from management techniques developed by Taylor and the "scientific management" movement.

For the economist the effectiveness with which an alternative method meets the objective is as important as its cost. That is to say, it is poor economics to buy a reproduction machine if its performance is such that it will require much service and be out of use for lengthy periods. I use this particular example because of personal experience in a school system in which minimum cost rather than maximum effectiveness was the chief criterion for decision-making.

On the other hand, it is poor economics to purchase always the most effective alternative regardless of cost. In this respect I recall an example used by a professor of mine some time ago. In a discussion of road-building techniques used by the Romans and our contemporaries, he pointed out that the resources allocated for this function by the Romans were obviously wasted inasmuch as the roads were still being used some fifteen hundred years after the Roman Empire disintegrated! This is where the concept of shadow costing becomes useful. Whilst it is advisable to prefer the highest attainable quality it is also true that given a scarcity of resources we just cannot have the very best in all aspects of our operations. The term given to this evaluation is normally cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analysis. It is to be expected that following its introduction to many aspects of the private and public sector, cost-effectiveness analysis will become an essential element of resource allocation decisions.

There can be no question that the elements of economic decision-making provide the most effective way of allocating scarce resources and that only where no resources are scarce can we afford to ignore them. Thus, they provide a perspective from which we can examine the examples used earlier in our discussion to see if there is any evidence of the utilization of these elements.

In the example of the high and low cost Grade I class, it is posssible that there was the objective of improving the quality of instruction in Grade I. The further analysis of allocation with regard to basic skill subjects does not support this contention. However, the question of search for alternatives may be raised. Assuming that the total allocation of funds to the high cost school is optimal, there are numerous combinations of alternatives by which the quality of instruction might be improved. For the same funds it might be possible to hire two teachers of lower qualification or one teacher with two teaching aides, and so on. Perhaps equally important were some of the implications of this decision. Among such implications are the questions, if such allocation was good in school A, was it intended to provide a similar allocation in other schools? Had estimates been made of the cost of implementing such a decision? What plans had been made to evaluate the output in the high cost system? In other words had any estimate of cost-effectiveness been attempted. I would like to be optimistic but regret I am not.

In example II, the case of the high cost vocational courses, it appears obvious that the objective was to provide a greater variety in program and more choice for the students. But alternatives which included the possibility of subsidized transferral to another vocational school in the vicinity might have been considered. In this case the low enrollment, a direct cause of the high cost, could have been utilized as a criterion of effectiveness, that is to say if the objective of providing acceptable variety was to be met, enrollment should have been higher.

In the case of the substitute program, example III, it appeared clear that the decision was based on a desire to make the substitute system more effective. However, we could ask if attempts had been made to gauge effectiveness in terms of alternatives. In this connection there have been useful studies based on operations research techniques which have demonstrated that there are a number of approaches to this problem. There is certainly a question of cost-effectiveness which could be raised.

In example V, the transfer problem, we might well see here the operation of a factor which could reduce the quality of education in the lower socio-economic areas. If this is the case then it would be appropriate to examine a system of incentives which would arrest this movement. I introduce this example to suggest that increasing effectiveness may well be very costly in some instances.

In example IV we might ask if some alternative to the supervised study period had been considered. In this context it is very interesting to examine the effect of introducing an open-climate system, where students not taking classes are free to leave the school, into a school where students are under continual supervision. I might add that whilst we have not studied this effect, there are considerable differences among schools where the different systems are in operation suggesting that the open climate is less expensive!

Perhaps I have said enough. I cannot vouch for the fact that none of the questions which I have raised were in fact considered but discussions and close reading of the analyses do not lead me to believe that an approach based on considerations of cost-effectiveness was used.

I say this not only on the basis of the examples we have examined but also on the basis of an examination of the characteristics of our allocation system.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ALLOCATION SYSTEM IN EDUCATION

One of the major characteristics of the system of allocation is related to our attitude towards the measurement of educational output. As educators we prefer to express our objectives in rather vague and usually unmeasurable terms. We tend to scorn standardized tests of educational achievement on the basis that they cannot measure what we are doing to, or for, the whole child. At the same time we hesitate to specify in behavioral terms what we expect from the outcome of our attempts to inculcate values, teach literary appreciation or develop a sense of individual worthiness. In view of our difficulties of measurement we tend to direct attention away from output measures and concentrate on input measures. We tend to evaluate school systems in terms of the quantity of facilities available to students, in terms of levels of teacher qualification, and in terms of pupil-teacher ratios. As a result it is extremely difficult to approach the question of resource allocation in terms of input-output relationships so essential to the economic model of choice. This difficulty also hinders us in the search for alternatives.

A second characteristic of our allocation system lies in the governance of school systems. There has been in Canada a tradition of dual leadership which assigns to the professional the role of program development and to the non-professional the role of allocating resources.

In some more progressive systems there is a measure of consultation between professional and non-professional but in others this consultation does not take place. It is nevertheless true that it is not possible to separate program from resource allocation. Most school systems develop policies of resource allocation at the central-office level which usually include system-wide pupil teacher ratios, support staff ratios, scales of equipment, and allotments for the purchase of supplies and books. Given these usually rigorous constraints there is little incentive for administrations in cost-centres, the schools, to seek for more effective alternatives. All too frequently the discovery of an equally effective lower-cost alternative may be punished by the withdrawal of resources, to say nothing of collegial disapproval! We all know how desperately we spend funds remaining to our credit for the purchase of supplies and books in case next year's allocation may be cut! In many systems bureaucratic structures, which show some evidence of decline in the matters of collegial relationships and teaching process, are still very evident when it comes to resource allocation. Nor is providing principals a petty cash allowance or a small amount per pupil the answer!

Closely related to the matter of governance is the third characteristic to which I now turn.

The chief tool in the allocation process is the budget and the procedures associated with its development. Unfortunately, budgeting as it is currently undertaken has little relevance to the process of decision-making which I have described.

The literature tells us that the budget should serve at least three major purposes: planning, evaluation, and control. From the budget we should be able to tell exactly how the resources of the system are to be allocated so that the objectives of the system will be attained. We should also be able to use the budgets of previous years to determine the adequacy of the allocation system in meeting the objectives of those years. Finally, the budget should be utilized to ensure that the resources allocated by the plan have been applied for the purposes stated.

An examination of budgetary forms and methods in use in most Canadian school systems today shows that the planning and evaluation purposes have been largely ignored and that the control purpose is the only one capable of being served.

If we examine a typical budget we will find that a given sum may be allocated for the function of instruction. Included under the heading of instruction are usually sums of money to be spent for salaries of professionals, clerical assistance, books, and instructional aids. Such estimates do not provide any information as to what kind of teaching staff is hired, or as to the allocation between the various types of educational activity such as classroom instruction or guidance. Estimates for various types of supply items provide little or no information as to the effect of the introduction of new courses or programs. Similar problems may be encountered in the other items described by budgets. In most budgetary systems in use in Western Canada estimates of administration costs are based primarily upon the costs of central office administration. The total cost of administering the school system is frequently hidden in a variety of other budget categories. Thus, plant operation and maintenance estimates may include costs of administration. Even more serious, much of the cost of administering schools may be concealed under the category of instruction. I am referring here to the practice of including principals' and vice-principals' allowances and the costs of administrative released time in instructional cost. Studies of Alberta school systems indicate that while budget forms show 3 to 4 per cent of total expenditure being devoted to administration, more careful analysis by function and activity shows that as much as 20 to 25 per cent of expenditure is devoted to administration. Obviously the opportunities for an effective allocation system are limited by such a haphazard approach. Furthermore, the approach gives rise to false assumptions about instructional cost.

I should also like to comment on a phenomenon which, although not yet characteristic of our system of resource allocation, may well become a major feature over the course of the next few years. I am referring to the development of the collective bargaining process to include areas of decision-making and resource allocation which have traditionally been in the realm of administration. The inclusion of most, if not all, working conditions in collective agreements may well serve to increase the constraints on flexibility to seek alternatives, although at this stage such constraints are not evident.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to show by means of examples and analysis that the system of resource allocation used currently in education does not provide a good foundation for economically based decision-making. But at the same time I must emphasize that economically based models in the form of program budgeting, systems analysis techniques, operations research, and cost effectiveness are steadily being brought into use at the highest levels of governmental policy-making in education. The implication is, therefore, that we restructure our decision-making systems at the school system level to facilitate this introduction so that it is a process supported by educators rather than a process imposed by governmental authority. Based on the foregoing, several suggestions might be made.

1. We must be prepared to introduce measurement of the objectives of our school systems, preferably in quantifiable terms, in order that some objective assessment of our achievements towards attaining these objectives is possible. We must in fact be prepared to translate the sometimes crude objectives of education set by lay bodies into these measurable terms.
2. We must change our evaluative procedures so that they relate input to output and make some honest assessments of the roles of varying types of input. Too often the professional appears defensive and unwilling to change.
3. We must actively seek for decentralization in the allocation of resources to the school level. By so doing we will increase the responsibility of the professional, place a heavy burden upon him to justify the use of resources, and encourage him to seek alternatives actively. This search may conflict with some of the present assumptions regarding the role of the teacher and serve to increase the difference between teacher and administrator and as a result, place the administrator closer to his counterpart in business.
4. There must be a radical review of present budgeting procedures and format so that the budget becomes a much more useful tool than it presently is. The involvement of the professional in this process must be much more active than it currently is.
5. Lay participation in matters of educational resource allocation will become primarily legislative and considerable discretion in the allocation of resources will be given to the professional staff.

I do not accept for one moment that the suggestions I have made will be easily attainable but I do maintain that unless we, as professional educators, strive to allocate resources effectively, then we are eroding the very basis for professional autonomy.

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Planning for Educational Change

TIM BYRNE

Educational planning activities can be distinguished as either macro or micro planning. The objectives and methods of macro planning have been heavily influenced by the economist. Three such objectives are discussed and an illustration of macro planning is presented: the current expansion of nonuniversity, post-secondary educational services. Planning must be based on an image of the future; in this perspective the author considers a number of approaches to futures study, including a brief consideration of the work of the futures historian. The paper concludes with a treatment of micro planning, and presents an example of planning for change built around development of improved programs for introducing the student to the world of work. The introduction of new practices in a social system is fraught with hazards. Planning must take into account the effects of change on the total system as well as on the segment in which change is undertaken.

PLANNING AND DECISION MAKING

Educational planning is currently fashionable. Of the many movements that have held the attention of theorists and practitioners over the several decades of this century, from testing through curriculum, guidance, and organizational theory, it is, perhaps, the most recent. Every conference on administration from local to international places planning on the agenda. It is the "in thing" of the seventies.

Why should this particular activity have achieved such prominence? Obviously planning has always been part of doing things, whether they be personal or professional. Even a fishing trip is not completely unstructured. Is educational planning in effect a unique process resembling somewhat the academic disciplines with their assumptions, structures, and practitioners? And if so, why are we complicating further an already complex administrative organization by the addition of another group of specialists complete with values, a special language, and claims for survival?

Planning is, without question, a phase of decision making – so much so that these activities should not be carried out in isolation. Any decision of consequence involves planning; in fact, the wisdom of the decision may depend on the thoroughness of the planning process. The purpose of planning, on the other hand, is to assist an individual or group to decide on a course of action. Are these two major steps in administration, planning and decision-making, each in itself so significant as to require a distinct approach?

Obviously this depends on the nature of the problem. Such questions as these seem pertinent: How complex is the problem? Does its solution affect a network of interrelationships so that any decision taken may have far reaching consequences? In other words, what is the totality of the system affected by the decision? How long is the time span through which the outcomes of an action may exert influence? Is there more than one course of action possible? If so, what are the possible courses of action and probable consequences of each? How can a particular course of action be evaluated during its implementation to provide for shifts in direction as the results of planning are tested through practice?

The decision maker is concerned with the politics of selecting a course for action. The planner is dedicated to posing and analytically testing various courses of action as a basis for decision-making. Like salt and pepper, planning and decision-making go together with each process possessing a unique flavor.

May I explore further the full flavor of planning. No matter who undertakes planning and for what purposes, whether it be for a business, governmental or educational institution, he does so to achieve certain objectives. What these objectives are will depend on the type of organization, the complexity of the issue, the time span through which the decision will have effect, and the degree of public acceptance required for a particular course of action. The planner, to be effective, must know what he seeks to achieve through planning.

Objectives, whether crisply stated or confused in expression, are invariably based on certain assumptions. The validity of the assumptions will doubtless contribute to the sharpness of the planning purpose. Assumptions may be limited to the planner's view of reality; they are more likely to be widely held within the organization for which planning is being undertaken. A group of assumptions is, in effect, a set of beliefs – truisms currently accepted by knowledgeable people.

Having posed certain objectives, the planner will expect to achieve certain results. His capacity to relate outcomes and objectives will determine his professional success. Furthermore, if he is to serve the decision maker effectively he must develop alternate courses of action. Each course for action should be accompanied by a searching analysis of its probable success for the achievement of the objectives that have been posed. The planner must attach expectations to each route that he charts. It is for the decision maker to balance the rewards of future expectations against the political difficulties of implementing immediate decisions.

MACRO AND MICRO PLANNING

For the purposes of this paper I will distinguish between two rather broad and overlapping categories, macro and micro planning. Macro planning is undertaken at provincial or system-wide levels. It leads to decisions that affect the total system of either a provincial or local jurisdiction. One can readily think of illustrations, such as issues of financial support, facilities, and special services. Micro planning is undertaken within a particular school, college, or university. Planning for the improvement of the instructional procedures of a school staff is micro in design. It is limited to the basic operating unit.

Which form of planning will be of major concern will, of course, depend on one's role in the system. The preoccupation of school or college executives will be with micro planning. Nonetheless, you should understand and contribute to system-wide planning. What happens in your school, college,or university will inevitably be influenced by the macro planning of the system which contains your institution. If I seem to spend too much time with macro planning I do so without apology. I am seeking first to develop a concept of planning and second, to stress the interrelatedness of the planning process throughout the total system. Having made a distinction between macro and micro planning I am prepared to admit its doubtful validity. It may be a distinction without a difference.

Most of the recent literature on planning has been macro in design. The flowering of the educational planning movement occurred during the last decade. It had its roots in planning theory applicable to business, industry, and government. While organizations in these sectors of society differ in social purpose, and in the values from which their objectives are derived, they have much in common with educational systems. They are, in effect, organizations of people reflecting the universal characteristics of social systems. The societal pressures resulting from the technological and communications revolutions are forcing all organizations to adapt to change or suffer the consequences. A rational approach to decision-making is being forced in every organization that seeks to survive in a fluid and dynamic culture.

OBJECTIVES OF MACRO PLANNING

The economist has contributed to planning in education as he has to planning in business, industry, and government. The economists' interest in education which emerged about a decade ago expressed itself through the thesis that the knowledge and skills possessed by members of the labour force influence national productivity perhaps more than such factors as capital or natural resources. If education is, in effect, a producer's good (in part at least) then additional resources should be invested therein proportionate to their effects on productivity. Since, according to the practitioners of the "dismal science," resources are inevitably scarce, planning is necessary to allocate them to the best advantage.

It is not surprising, then, that the early objectives in national planning reflect the economist's influence. Nor is it surprising that European countries have given much more attention to educational planning as a process distinct from decision making than we have in North America. It is only recently that the demands of educational organizations on this continent have begun to press closely on available resources.

Three type of objectives are apparent in macro planning, each receiving emphasis depending on a nation's economic and social stature. The first of these, meeting national manpower requirements, seeks to maximize outputs from the educational system to fulfil certain demands for labor. Competent planners can, with reasonable accuracy, project the national manpower needs necessary to achieve certain economic results. Having assessed a nation's quantitative and qualitative labor requirements, planners set forth possible courses for action to meet these demands through changes within the educational system.

Closely related to the manpower objective is that area broadly defined as investments in education. If education is a capital good, the extent of the investment therein should be governed by the rate of return. Some economists maintain that a direct relationship exists between the productivity of labor and the "stocks" of education held by persons in the labor force; the more highly educated the labor force, the more productive the national economy. An objective might then be to raise the average level of education from seven to ten years of formal schooling with the expectation that the gross national product would be increased accordingly. Presumably diminishing returns would result in time from such an investment policy but most nations, including Canada, have not yet reached the marginal rate of return.

A third objective is described as the fulfilment of social needs Here the planner takes his cues almost exclusively from the desires of students and their parents. These are customarily expressed through the demands for accommodation in schools, colleges, technical institutes, and universities. The planner is concerned with projecting enrolment trends and assessing shifts in requests for various educational programs.

A close relationship exists among these three objectives. An emphasis on the achievement of one does not preclude consideration of the remaining two. Students choosing to continue in school and to elect special programs have in mind the possibilities for certain types of employment, choices which may be consistent with national manpower requirements. Decisions on labor force needs may involve estimating the rate of return from additional investments in education. Nonetheless, each objective derives from different sets of assumptions. Each approach tends to have its antagonists and protagonists.

An Illustration of Macro Planning

An excellent illustration of province-wide macro planning can be found in the current expansion of post-secondary services. It became apparent less than a decade ago that early in the seventies an unprecedented demand for accommodation in some type of post-secondary institution might occur. Two trends bore evidence of this, first a surge of enrolments passing through the elementary and secondary grades with a decreasing rate of dropout and second, a growing demand for formal schooling beyond the high school grades.

The objectives of most provincial governments in Canada aimed at meeting this demand by expanding university accommodation and by creating new types of post-secondary institutions such as colleges and technical institutes. The assumptions, never too clearly voiced, but nonetheless implicit in the defining of objectives, were such as these: government has an obligation to provide those educational services which individuals demand; individual capacities and interests differ, therefore necessitating the creation of new types of institutions offering varied programs; society must satisfy the demands of all youth in the post-secondary years of schooling; providing formal education beyond high school is a sound investment with a high rate of return to the community as well as to the individual; the nature of modern industry is such that additional years of general studies and increased investments in special training have become imperative.

While the objectives varied little from province to province the course of action differed according to perceptions of need. In this province a Committee on Post-Secondary Education met for more than a year and a half, studying, deliberating, researching, and planning courses of action to achieve the objective of a more comprehensive college. The eventual design was expressed through legislative enactments and the elected course of action is now being pursued.

MODELS FOR PLANNING

Educational planning, whether it be macro or micro, involves two major thrusts. One is to anticipate the nature of social change–what kind of future may be in store for us. The other is to estimate the necessary adaptations for the educational organization to meet the demands of the future. The complexity of the planning process will depend on whether the period for which one plans is short or lengthy; and whether the decision has limited or system-wide effects.

It is difficult to decide on any course of action in education without some perception of the future. Whether it be the establishment of a bus route, the designing of a school, or the creation of a library service, most decisions will reflect views of both current and future needs. An examination of the planning and decision making of any jurisdiction will probably reveal a model of the future which influences the selection of particular courses of action.

The first and most common of such models is to view the future as the present. An appropriate solution to the immediate problem should answer the exigencies of the future. Most ad hoc planning is of this type. Illustrations are readily available in the current design of many school buildings, in the location of school sites, and in the provision of certain special services. This model is descriptive of much that has occurred in Canadian school administration.

A second model is that which views the future as an extrapolation of the present. Typically, the historical approach is employed in projecting enrolments, determining space needs, and developing programs. The full utilization of this model should involve a range of variables, each of which is either directly or indirectly relevant to the planning function.

Such questions as the following seem pertinent. What are the changing population patterns? Where and to what extent is urbanization occurring? What are the significant trends in economic growth? What industrial changes are becoming apparent? What shifts are occurring in the labor force? These can be answered only through securing data provided by persons such as economists, demographers, and sociologists. Planners are dependent on many disciplines for the substance of their craft.

Those who employ this model assume that the future will be like the present, only more so. They assume no major shifts in the unfolding of history, but rather a steady progression of events. They assume that the decades ahead will reflect continuity rather than discontinuity in social change. In retrospect over the last twenty years, these have been valid assumptions. Whether they will continue to be valid is of grave import to contemporary planners.

The posing of models other than those which view the future as the present or as an extrapolation of the present introduces one to a different domain. To move from projecting to forecasting is hazardous, since there is only limited availability of hard data for the forecaster. On the other hand, planners who depend exclusively on projections of current information exert conservative influences in society. They assume that social change will do little other than create more complex facsimiles of the current scene.

There exists in North America and Europe the beginnings of a new discipline, or interdisciplinary study, that of the futures historian. This academic, if he can be called such, is concerned with the posing of alternate futures. The futures historian is interested, not in forecasting in the mystical sense, but in examining possibilities for and listing hypotheses about the future through such research techniques as he is able to devise. He asks that we contemplate the present by working backward from a study of futurity rather than moving forward through historical analysis. In doing this he provides a counter-balance to the conservatism of those planners who lean heavily on projection techniques.

Research of this type is currently taking place at Syracuse and Stanford Universities, to mention two major centres. The futures movement, while it may prove to be a blind alley, has led to a critical re-examination of traditional procedures in planning.

Two models describe the approach followed by those who are involved in forecasting. One is to develop scenarios of several futures each of which might possibly occur. No futures historian would claim an inevitability for any particular scenario. He might hypothesize, however, that mankind could, by the appropriate timing of certain decisions, give a direction to social change which would increase the probability of a particular train of events. His least contribution might be to arouse scepticism as to the inevitability of a single future whether it be a projection of contemporary data or a scenario posed by those enamoured of certain aspects in current society.

The single futures model is best illustrated by the work of those who have become interpreters of technological trends. This scenario becomes increasingly fascinating as it pictures the application of science in a variety of settings, both biological and physical.[1]

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[1] The interested reader is referred to Victor C. Ferkiss, *Technological Man* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1969). Ferkiss presents a most imaginative, nonetheless credible, scenario of this type.

In such a future, education will become a central activity. The computer is viewed as the basic tool for information storage and retrieval and for instant communication. Many speak knowingly of excitingly different organizational forms in education, such as moving the process out of school buildings to make it an integral part of total living. There are those who advocate evolving from an educated to a learning society through methods depending largely on technology.

Certain emerging problems in society may make imperative the consideration of alternate futures. The major preoccupation of contemporary society is apparently to become more productive, to maximize the gross national product, and to establish a "post-industrial culture" as a projection of the present. If the achievement of these objectives creates such problems as an imbalance in nature, a disturbance of the ecological life of plants and wildlife, and a slow destruction of man's physical environment, then different futures must be contemplated. These problems illustrate the need for considering other directions for social change, and for recognizing that we are perhaps entering a period in which new social forms and different value systems may emerge.

PLANNING RELATIONSHIPS: INSTITUTION AND SYSTEM

On-the-spot executives in schools, colleges, and universities will be most directly concerned with planning within an institution; that is, with micro planning. Such persons must of necessity be aware of what is involved in macro planning, however, particularly as it influences the tasks of their organizations. They must be equally cognizant of the relationship between system-wide and institutional decision making.

A school or college is the basic unit in its social system. Systems theory has been emphasized in recent years to the point where further discussion may be redundant. Briefly, a social system is an organization within which exists a hierarchy of positions, a network of interrelationships, and a unique set of values distinguishing it from other social organizations. A system frequently encompasses sub-systems each of which may on occasion be defined as a complete system. The provincial school system is a complete social system with the local jurisdictions forming sub-systems reflecting many of the characteristics of the total system.

The school or college is not unlike a single commercial or factory unit in business or industry or, in fact, the farm unit in agriculture. Without this basic unit the total system could not exist. All planning at either the provincial or district level is directed towards the operation of the basic unit. Macro planning influences the climate surrounding the individual unit, and determines such matters as its size, its organization, its staff, the type of facilities it enjoys, and its clientele. The unit is, in effect, a creature of the total system. Nonetheless, each unit creates for itself a special uniqueness. It has a field of decision making and a scope for action that gives it identity. Herein resides the challenge of school leadership and the rationale for micro planning.

In planning for change each principal or president should recognize certain hard facts. As head of an educational institution he presides over the most conservative of social systems. Some sociologists maintain that, of the values typical of all social organizations, the maintenance or conserving of structure predominates for the school or college. The traditional emphasis of the school has been to conserve and transmit values. Teachers, that is, the technical or professional staff, are likely to express this overriding concern in all that they do. The inherent conservatism of the professional group makes change exceedingly difficult.

The major problem for educational leadership whether it be in schools, colleges, or universities, resides in this overriding preoccupation with the maintenance of traditional values, structures, and practices. How then can the organization be provided with opportunities for self renewal? How can its typical preoccupation with conserving be balanced by a drive for openness? How can closed systems intent on re-enacting unrealistic behavior be avoided?

Some sociologists have suggested shock treatment for the inflexibility of well entrenched social organizations. This involves creating tension within an institution to the point where the interrelationships among roles become severely strained. The resulting confusion makes possible new groupings, with a markedly altered communication network. The internal structures of the organization are first violently disturbed, then fixed in a different pattern. The organization becomes static at a different level–provided, of course, that a system still exists after undergoing the experience.

I prefer to recommend less dramatic measures. One route to more creative systems resides with leadership in the basic unit, the school, college, or university. Leadership (by either an individual or a group) should promote a two-way flow of information. To achieve self renewal through change, the staff of a school or college needs intellectual stimulation. A pooling of ideas and a critical assessment of their applicability to professional tasks may be the best approach to creating the open climate.

The next two or three years in Alberta should provide excellent opportunities for this type of activity. The Alberta Commission on Educational Planning is committed to forecasting social trends and to recommending directions for educational change. The work of the Commission is future-oriented. The series of papers now being presented for public consideration and the research studies that have been undertaken are intended to arouse public interest in the crucial issues of the future. Hopefully, representatives of schools, colleges, and universities will participate in and be influenced by the public debate which the Commission is seeking to engender.

This is one approach to achieving an interface between micro and macro planning. No matter how reasoned and insightful the macro planning process, it will have little real influence on the educational system if contact is not carefully established with schools and colleges. Planning in schools and colleges may have some effect despite lack of system-wide leadership. Macro planning on the other hand would be futile if it did not in some measure influence the values, structures, and practices of local units.

EFFECTS OF CHANGE

The introduction of new practices in a social system is fraught with hazards. Any individual planner or planning group must recognize the possibility of unanticipated consequences within the systems network of relationships. Planning should take into account the effects of change on the total system as well as the segment in which change is undertaken.

This need is best illustrated by experiences in a new university in Western Canada. Although a case study of its decision making has yet to be written, glimpses of what took place are being provided by various observers. While many of the facts are in dispute this much seems true: the planners of this university sought to create a different kind of institution using adaptations consistent with what many consider necessary to meet social change. Innovations were introduced, conflict developed, and the resulting reaction has apparently forced an unprecedented emphasis on traditional practice.

One report documents the creativity of a social sciences department which had adopted a multidisciplinary approach to the study of significant social issues. Many accept that instruction in the social science field, if it is to be relevant, must be interdisciplinary and must direct attention to significant social issues. The problems approach drawing on all available knowledge on shelves, or in the community, and employing different groupings of students with new forms of learning activity is not easy to accommodate within traditional institutional arrangements. What happened, apparently, was a re-run of an age-old institutional drama–a new university refusing to assume a unique role among its institutional peers. The administration either did not accept or understand the challenge of change, failing to recognize that new management procedures must be devised to accommodate innovative practices. Other departments may have seen the behavior of this department as a threat to their concept of sound scholarship. Furthermore, the innovations appeared to lack credibility among the general public.

Whether these instructional innovations had been planned by the original designers of the university is moot. Assuming this to be so, the planners should have examined the total system in which the new university was a member and anticipated the internal and external stresses that innovative behavior might engender. Planning for change should have considered such interrelations among faculties as these: an appropriate administrative structure, a means of involving students in decision making, communication channels with other organizations, and programs of public interpretation.

It is infinitely more simple to create a carbon copy of institutions already in existence. Not so many expectations are offended.

PLANNING FOR CHANGE

In the remaining part of this paper I would like to sketch a proposal that might occupy the attention of a staff for an extended period of time. It is illustrative only and might not fit any local situation within the province.

Assuming that the principal of a large composite high school or the president of a college is interested in introducing improved services for a large number of his students, what social and economic trends might dictate planning objectives?

The information flow from macro planning should have relevance to a study of this question. Trends such as these are emerging: the advance of cybernation is reaching the point where structural or technological unemployment is imminent; increasing numbers of youth are entering the labor force; full employment for professional workers, those occupations for which the educational system has up to now provided the most effective service, is difficult to achieve; the growing importance of the subprofessional and social service technologies; the prevalent frustrations of first entry into employment.

These are possible objectives.

1. To provide more realistic occupational preparation.
2. To establish a closer liaison between the business and industrial community and the school.
3. To assume greater responsibility for assisting youth to enter employment for the first time.
4. To make better use of buildings and facilities.
5. To ensure that the full promise of our society is not sacrificed to the economic promise of technology.

Hopefully, the assumptions underlying these objectives will be acceptable to the teachers, the central administration, and the publics involved. These illustrate a possible set of beliefs.

1. A job is a mark of status in our society; to

be without employment is to be without an identity.

2. Entry into employment is, in effect, an initiation into adult society.
3. Schools have traditionally prepared students for certain employment roles more effectively than others, e.g. the professional.
4. The complexity of labor force requirements dictates more intensive vocational preparation.
5. Youth is entitled not only to general preparation for a vocation but to specific preparation as well.
6. The school or college must not only prepare students effectively for the adult world but must actively engage in the initiation process to that world.

Courses of action to achieve these objectives require careful planning. Such decisions as these would result in radical shifts in emphasis for most educational institutions.

The Year Round School

This proposal suggests a more complete use of the available facilities in any comprehensive high school or college. Offering vocational courses during the summer months makes it possible for students to sample other types of vocational preparation without sacrificing the programs they have elected to follow.

The additional time need not, however, be spent exclusively on formal instruction. The year round school should provide opportunity to explore vocational choices in a variety of ways; through industrial visits, work experience, seminars, conferences on employment, and short programs designed for second career preparation.

Work Experience Programs

While the year round school is not essential to the development of work experience activities, a close relationship with local businesses and industry is imperative. In Alberta, credits on the provincial high school diploma may now be earned by students actively engaged in supervised employment. To make this experience significant, members of the school staff must establish a close rapport with both industry and labor unions. The need for advisory groups drawn from both these sectors is obvious. The movement of classrooms into the community will require patient and extensive planning.

School Placement Services

The concept of the school entering much more actively in placement, if implemented, is obviously fraught with difficulties. Placement activities could consist of extensions in guidance service along the lines currently followed by vocational counsellors. It could, however, reach beyond this traditional approach.

It should be possible to locate the placement services of the Department of Manpower within the schools for short periods of time. Students who for a variety of reasons wish to drop out of school could secure employment through these services and at the same time receive counselling on the advantages of recurrent or continuing education. Those who are to graduate from either the vocational or general programs might be constantly in touch with these offices for some time prior to graduation.

This makes the school increasingly responsible for career preparation as well as for entry into the labor force. At the same time it marks out a new area of effort, that of outlining future programs for lifelong education. As someone has so aptly said, "There is one umbilical cord that should not be cut, the connection with continuous or recurrent education."

This reaching out into the community makes the school part of a more complex system which should be carefully explored during the planning process. The attached chart is one view of relationships created by these courses for action. (See Figure 1.) Their complexity indicates the necessity for extensive planning.

The first step in the planning process should be the development of a planning brochure. This document might take several months to prepare and should serve as a blueprint for those involved in decision making. This approach lends itself to the use of critical path techniques, which are, in effect, projections for action over periods of time.

Outlining alternate courses of actions and projecting these through periods of time is essential, no matter how limited or extensive the planning. Planning for change is a rational approach to a contemporary imperative: institutional adaptation or self renewal for educational systems.

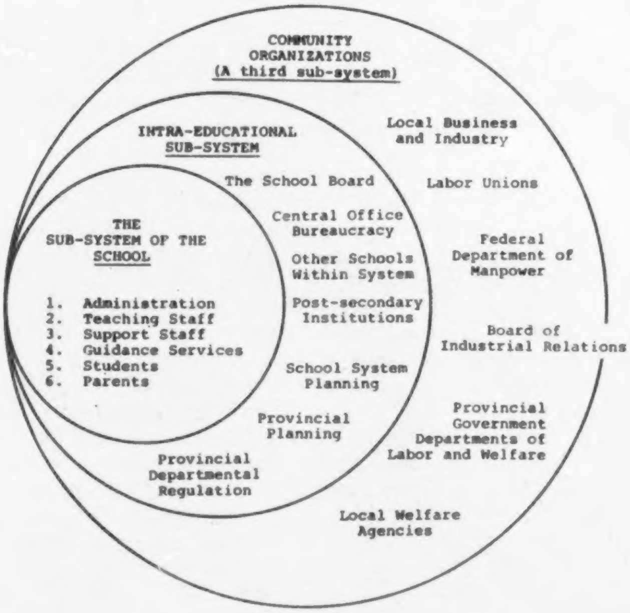

COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATIONS
(A third sub-system)
INTRA-EDUCATIONAL
SUB-SYSTEM
THE
SUB-SYSTEM OF THE
SCHOOL
1. Administration
2. Teaching Staff
3. Support Staff
4. Guidance Services
5. Students
6. Parents
The School Board
Central Office
Bureaucracy
Other Schools
Within System
Post-secondary
Institutions
School System
Planning
Provincial
Planning
Provincial
Departmental
Regulation
Local Business
and Industry
Labor Unions
Federal
Department of
Manpower
Board of
Industrial Relations
Provincial
Government
Departments of
Labor and Welfare
Local Welfare
Agencies

FIGURE 1

THE SOCIAL SYTEM

Created by Objectives for Living

Discussion
The Politics of Educational Change at the Local Level

A number of major changes in the organization and administration of public education have affected the politics of educational change at the local level. The relationship, of course, works both ways: politics affects the administration and organization of education, as well. Four contributors comment on these changes and their effects: an educational administrator with a variety of experience in working with school boards; a mayor of a large urban center; a trustee of an urban school board; and a member of a provincial legislature. Girard examines a number of problems in the relationships of school boards to other authorities at the local level: the superintendent, professional staff, the provincial government, and the community-at-large. Myhre's major emphasis is on how local political systems facilitate change. Using a study of the Vancouver public schools, he demonstrates the need for unity of purpose between teachers and trustees in order to achieve change. Dent deals with the thesis that big government has come to education, and suggests that the lay person no longer controls education because of the complexity of the enterprise. Hyndman considers several problem areas, perhaps the most controversial one being his prediction of a declining role for public authority in education and an enlarged role for private enterprise.

DON GIRARD

In discussing the politics of educational change, I propose to analyse a few of the relationships existing between the school board and other authorities at the local level. The problems which I identify are, perhaps, well known to you. My contribution will not resolve the problems because some of them defy solution under our present system; on the other hand, it may be that identification of the problems, and discussion of them within a certain context, may enable us to live with them more satisfactorily.

THE SUPERINTENDENT

The major authorities with which the school board must deal in the conduct of its affairs are the superintendent and his administration, the teachers, the community, and the provincial government. By superintendent, I mean in particular the locally employed superintendent, a comparatively recent development in Canadian education. There was a time when local trustees were the administrators of the local school unit. But increasing complexity, specialization, and centralization have brought about a division of labor between the school board and its administrative staff.

In theory, the division of labor is delineated by reserving to the school board responsibility for establishing policy. Such policy then provides the superintendent and his staff with direction and guidance for attaining the objectives of the system. In brief, the board sets policy; the superintendent applies it.

The theoretical distinction is useful, but in practice the separation between policy-setting and administration becomes rather blurred. School boards are composed of trustees accountable to an electorate. Therefore, administrative practices, especially those at variance with community expectations, are often subject to review and revision by school boards, even though such practices are within the limits set by established policy. Conversely, although the school board has the formal authority to govern and to set policy, individual trustees lack the functional authority characteristic of the superintendent due to his expertise and intimate knowledge of the school system. Because of his expertise and intimate knowledge, the superintendent becomes a focal person in the development of policy.

The fact is that many, if not most, boards have failed to achieve a satisfactory delegation of authority.[1] It may be an impossible task. Perhaps, as Southworth claims, the major function of the school board of the future will be the selection and retention of the best educational leadership possible. Who, then, will guide, advise, and control the superintendent and his administration? In the last few years the use of advisory committees drawn from parents, teachers, students, and the community has become increasingly popular. If these committees are to have a legitimate existence, they must exert real influence. As a result, there will be a concomitant decrease in influence exerted by the school board. We may be moving into an era where the superintendent will govern by fiat after consultation with various community groups – and where a special citizens' committee will be struck to recruit a new superintendent when the need arises.[2]

THE TEACHERS

A second authority group with which the school board has direct contact is the professional staff. For several years now, board-teacher relations have focused on salary negotiations and the collective agreement. Currently, there is an increasing concern on the part of teachers to be involved in much broader matters such as: the selection of administrators, the right to make educational and curricular decisions, work assignments according to preference, and so on.[3]

These are legitimate concerns. It is the means of coping with them which result in difficulty and misunderstanding. Under our present system, public education is the responsibility of the legislature which is held accountable to the electorate. Much of this responsibility has been delegated to boards of school trustees who are also accountable to an electorate. On the other hand, the teacher is held accountable to his peers via a code of ethics. In theory, the primary purpose of the code is to protect the welfare of the teacher's clients – the children. But the code also demands certain responsibilities from the teacher on behalf of his peers. Peer responsibilities have become institutionalized on a province-wide basis. The resulting bureaucracy, in common with most others of such size, tends to be conservative and welfare-oriented rather than flexible and client (or child)-oriented. The control exerted by this bureaucracy, often unwittingly, tends to restrict the freedom of action of the teacher when involved in the politics of educational change at the local level.

To the credit of teachers, they have tried to resolve the issue of accountability by lobbying for the right to be a trustee of an employing board, provided the electorate is willing to supply the necessary mandate. I do not favor special treatment for any special interest group but in my view, teachers have a special kind of vested interest which warrants board membership if a mandate can be won from the electorate.

THE COMMUNITY

School board-community relationships are of fundamental importance under our present system of public education. Looking to the future it is possible that local control – as we know it today – will not survive without the development of a better system of representation and communication between the school board and the community it serves. School boards surrendered much of their status and prestige within the community when they agreed to transfer most of their fiscal responsibilities to the province via the foundation programs introduced in recent years. Since then, school boards have failed to assume initiative and responsibility in the community for other aspects of educational leadership.

The recent trend toward large centralized units within which decision-making powers tend to be delegated down to the smallest possible constituent units has compounded the problem of school board-community communications. This dual trend has developed in response to the drive for more efficient units of control on the one hand and for more responsive and autonomous operating units, on the other.

There is the danger that the good intentions implicit in recommendations for decentralization are misplaced. In many ways our school systems remain strongly bureaucratic, if only because of size, and there is a consequent drive for the operating unit (whether it be a cluster of schools, a single school, or the classroom teacher himself) to respond to the bureaucracy. In such cases decentralization is a sham. Consider the example of decentralization of authority to the level of the classroom teacher; the chances are that he identifies primarily with his professional peers and, as a result, tends to respond to them rather than the community.

This lack of responsiveness to the community may lead to frustration, alienation, and apathy on the part of individual community members. The lack of public interest tends to be reinforced by the centralization into larger units because the school trustee then becomes relatively more isolated from the community he serves. He is not as closely in touch with his constituents as was the case before centralization.

From time to time there is talk of introducing party politics into school board elections. I am not sure if I favor the idea or not – I have heard the emotional arguments but that is all I have heard. If introduced, party politics would provide some support for, and control over the individual trustee via the party caucus. This may be a partial solution to the matter of day-to-day accountability which may become far more important as we move toward extended periods between school board elections.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

The province enters into the politics of educational change at the local level not only via the legal structure provided by legislation but also in other less direct ways. The Department of Education has always been rather directly concerned with the education program of the system. In political matters, however, the provincial government has exercised a management-by-exception philosophy, and has become involved only when matters reach the crisis stage at the local level. At such a point, a board may be dissolved and an official trustee appointed. The rationale for this approach may be a genuine reluctance on the part of the senior government to interfere with the affairs of the people at the local level; that is that the will of the democratically elected majority should prevail. On the other hand, the temptation exists for the senior government to use the local board as a buffer between the province and the people, waiting to intervene until the stage is reached where any change will be an improvement.

A matter of great interest at this time is the emerging trend toward the use of polls or plebiscites to approve operating budgets. Much of merit can be said on both sides of this issue, which is a very complex one. I would like to limit my comments to two matters: First, there is no doubt that plebiscites severely limit the autonomy of local school units; and second, that plebiscites are a make-or-break proposition. There is no room for compromise. I am sorry that there appears to be no way to replace plebiscites with public hearings after which appropriate changes could be made in the budget.

CONCLUSION

In summary then, some of the current issues of educational change at the local level deal with the distribution of authority between the school board and its administration; differences in accountability between teachers and trustees; communication difficulties between school and community; and the leadership role of the province in the political aspects of local school board operations.

ALVIN MYHRE

Persons reared in a tradition which emphasizes that schools should be kept out of politics may find this topic a bit unsettling. The fact that the word "politics" connotes various meanings for different people may well be responsible for the tendency to overlook or disregard its relevance for education. Keith Goldhammer suggests that politics is the means through which a community makes its decisions, and emphasizes that "so long as education involves people, communities, and social functions and social objectives, it is inevitably wound up in the politics of the community."[1]

Politics has been defined as the science of how who gets what, when, and why. To many educators, politics is a study of influence. Therefore, a political system is not necessarily a government, but can be regarded as a pattern of human relationships involving power, influence, and authority. When defined in this way, the relevance of politics in education becomes more clear, and important questions arise such as:

1. What effects do the national and provincial political systems have on local educational change?
2. How can local political systems facilitate innovation within an expanding bureaucracy?
3. What is the educational administrator's role in the politics of local change?

THE EFFECTS OF NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL SYSTEMS ON LOCAL CHANGE

To examine the influence of national and provincial political systems on local educational change, we need to start from the position that in Canada education is a provincial matter. In England, the individual school is the centre of attention. In the United States, the balance of power rests with the school district. But in Canada, we have traditionally regarded the province as the most important administrative unit for education. The federal government, however, does exercise some control over education in special areas such as the Yukon and the North West Territories. The incentive grants for vocational schools are also an example of how the federal government influences education across Canada.

Provincial governments assume the major share of responsibility in educational change. They control teacher education, define the constitution and authority of local boards, regulate finances, and determine the size and nature of local administrative units. Some provinces provide for the local option to combine school systems (such as public and separate school systems) to make more effective economic units, but this local privilege is seldom, if ever, exercised. Many provinces have delegated a degree of authority to local systems for curriculum innovations and have moved away from prescription to suggestion in teaching methods and textbook selection. More examples could be given.

It appears clear that the Canadian province exercises the dominant role in educational change simply because it inherited the major share of control and responsibility over education. According to Hodgson,[2] critical decisions about public education really lie with the provincial cabinet. In an address on the politics of education, he concludes that, "Indeed, the cabinet could control the smallest detail of education if it so desired."

Provincial associations of teachers and trustees are fairly active in their attempts to induce educational change at the provincial level, but attempts to influence local change are rare. Local branches of these organizations are more influential and will be discussed below.

HOW LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS FACILITATE CHANGE

Canadian school boards and organizations of teachers on the local level are involved to varying degrees (and with varying effectiveness) in educational change. Although school boards have statutory authority to effect limited change, the teaching profession is generally more active in initiating and producing innovation. Effectiveness of change in a local school unit therefore depends largely on the degree of cooperation and understanding between these two groups. Regardless of the shifting patterns of influence of these two political groups, education is entirely dependent on public support, both financial and moral. The quality and scope of educational services are frequently matters of intense political conflict which can spill over into the community. Differences in services and programs from school system to school system certainly cannot be explained in terms of the supporting economic base alone.

A recent study conducted in Vancouver illustrates the need to establish unity of purpose and action between trustees and teachers to achieve desirable changes in school systems.[3] By means of group discussions and questionnaires over a period of a year, the researchers found that "the system" itself can be the main deterrent to innovation. The researchers report that the component parts of the Vancouver system seem badly "out of phase" and "out of touch" with one another. The study concludes that:

1. Teachers identify school board members as politically motivated and public-relations oriented;
2. Principals view the school board as failing to match its strong desire to produce innovation with the necessary material support;

3. Trustees see principals as a timid unimaginative lot lacking initiative; and
4. Teachers and principals seem ill-informed and unappreciative of problems faced by board personnel, and *vice versa.*

Any school system which only pays lip service to innovation, which supports a bureaucratic system reluctant to change, or which allows hostility to flourish among its component parts is in extreme difficulty. Where these conditions exist across Canada I would suggest that the "educational productivity" of our schools has been more severely hampered by low teacher morale and related work slowdown than the cumulative time loss of recent teacher strikes in the United States. Vancouver has dared to investigate these problem areas and has identified solutions to a number of its problems.

A vocal critic once wrote that the greatest single obstacle to improving education in this country lies in the fact that the control and budgeting of schools is in the hands of thousands of local boards. This is a mild condemnation compared with Mark Twain's recorded remark, "In the first place God made idiots, this was for practice. Then he made school boards." As a trustee with just over a year's experience, I am convinced that local boards are necessary in education. I am equally convinced, however, that unless local boards begin to fulfill their responsibilities of political leadership more effectively within and outside school systems, they will soon outlive their usefulness. Some lay boards – but, as yet, not enough – have demonstrated the potential to exert powerful and constructive leadership for educational change.

Local teacher organizations have traditionally concerned themselves primarily with the economic welfare of the membership. More recently, there have been indications of local teacher organizations becoming directly concerned and articulate in the politics affecting the total educational enterprise in the community. Current teacher militancy would seem to attest to that point. In my opinion local teacher organizations not only have the right, but have a professional obligation to be active politically in shaping educational change. Aristotle's comment, "he who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration . . . is a citizen," is still perfectly valid and applicable to all professional groups.

THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR IN POLITICS

Keith Goldhammer states that "educators must become increasingly more adept as politicians" if they are to be effective change agents and mobilize support for innovative programs.[4] Superintendents and principals command key positions in the political arena for educational change. The superintendent occupies the most critical position between the teaching profession and the school board, while the principal occupies the most influential position for change in the classroom.

Hodgson states that "the superintendent stands at the ultimate pressure point between the political body and the bureaucracy. He is the grain of corn caught between the upper and nether millstones. And if he looks a little worn around the edges from time to time, such a condition appears only natural!"[5] The superintendent is a political figure and, as such, he is regularly involved in the politics of educational change. The lay trustee depends on his professional advice, more than that of any other person or group, in important decision-making. He must maintain the confidence of both the trustees and his professional staff, and must in addition command the respect and support of his community. Knowledge of where power lies in the profession, in the school board, and in the community are the rules he must play by. "Politics" is the name of his game.

The principal occupies the key position in educational change at the classroom level, and must recognize that change is introduced most effectively when those affected by change are involved in the decision-making process. King emphasizes that "the day of all major decisions being the responsibility of the principal is over, if valid educational change is to be implemented."[6] Clarke's recent study of teachers' perception of decision-making supports this view, and indicates that teachers strongly endorse a participatory or collegial type of administration.[7] The principal mobilizes support for change among teachers, students, and the community. He has the opportunity to employ this support to influence the actions and behavior of the superintendent and school board. The most important changes in education occur in the classroom, and the principal occupies a unique position to influence the extent and direction of change where it really counts, in the learning-teaching environment.

CONCLUSION

If educators are to be more than a very low order of civil servant following the dictates of influential political masters, the politics of education will of necessity engage a larger share of their time, thought, and energy. Educators should employ every source of power and strategy at their disposal to influence decisions affecting education. Educational administrators possess the power which derives from professional expertise. Your strategies may range from informal contacts with politicians and bureaucrats to active lobbying and campaigning. If you should choose to help "make" rather than "influence" the decisions affecting educational change, you are encouraged to become actively involved in politics and seek an elective office.

IVOR DENT

Big government has come to education. This in my view is an inevitable, if somewhat undesirable, development dictated by the complexity of today's society. It adds, moreover, to the burdens of the educational administrator. Indeed, my reference here is not to a mere increase in workload. Instead, it is to the change in character of the administrator's role – its increasing sophistication.

Historically, local control of education, or control by citizens, has been a Canadian fact. Before the turn of the century, it was possible for a small group of parents in an area no matter how remote to petition the federal government, or subsequently the provincial government, to begin a school district.

The parents were close to the school, the teacher, and the entire function of education. Moreover, because very few changes in education occurred from one generation to the next, they understood education.

This situation did not long prevail. Two forces were at work in Canadian society which disturbed the old equilibrium and which led education and its administration along the path it now treads.

The first of these forces was the emergence of the idea that education was preparation for life, not simply preparation for academic excellence. Today, education is very definitely vocationally oriented. Even the academic education of today is pointed toward preparation for vocational study at the university.

This orientation has resulted in educational diversity as well as increased specialization in the student body. It has also resulted in misconceptions by lay persons of the past generation who fail to understand modern education despite the fact that they still sit on school boards.

The second force at work was the gradual emergence of the larger school division, which was essential to cope with the growing diversity in education. Alberta, earlier than the other provinces, went through this process of consolidation and amalgamation of school districts into larger units. This is to its credit. It enabled administrators to respond to changes occurring with ever-increasing rapidity in education.

Simultaneously, however, fewer people were able to serve on school boards because the boards served much larger areas; therefore, fewer parents were directly involved in the educational process and its direction.

Furthermore, with the more recent advent of the county system in this province, which includes education with other municipal services, the distance between the lay person and the control and direction of education grew. It may be noted that, notwithstanding the absence of the county system in cities, the distance between parents and the school system also grew there. In the cities, though, this was attributable in greater measure to the first of the factors mentioned, namely complexity in education and the simple fact of bigness.

Clearly, this growing gap between parents and the system which I have been referring to could not be left unbridged. Education, like everything else, will not tolerate a vacuum. Enter the professionally trained administrator.

Early examples of the species were first and foremost teachers. No doubt the selection of the teacher-administrator in the early days was somewhat haphazard and the results of his work uneven, but education is fortunate that he pioneered the way to what has become the sophisticated art of administration today.

His pioneering effort brought the appearance of the professional administrator in education. Much of the operation of our educational system resides in his hands today.

From the foregoing it might be inferred that this evolution in education was an ordered response to developments as they occurred. It was not. In fact, bigness and complexity preceded the professional administrator. He inherited something that had grown like topsy.

The administrator also inherited far more: no less than the democratic responsibility for control and direction of public education which lay people were no longer able to exercise.

At the outset I said that it is a historical Canadian fact that the citizen-parent controlled and directed education. Citizens today believe that this situation still exists, unimpaired by the developments discussed above. They have not recognized that they are now unable to act in education as previous generations have acted. They have, moreover, a repugnance at the very thought that an elite may be doing a job they believe themselves to be doing.

The repugnance is entirely consistent with the Canadian tradition of democracy, not only in education but in other areas of government as well.Thetradition in my view is valid; hence the repugnance is valid. The tradition demands that the citizen shall direct education.

We are confronted then with the problem of reconciling the tradition with current practice. The basis for reconciliation, I believe, rests in the hands of the professional administrator and the educator.

The professional administrator has recognized the problem and has responded by assuming the responsibility of educating the public to a degree greater than at any time in the past. He has, further, attempted to involve the public in the grass roots consideration of educational issues.

Certainly, the modern member of a school board is more aware of what is going on in education than the people he represents. The professional administrator has made special efforts to prepare the trustee to deal with the complexities and intricacies of school operations.

Despite this, the situation in recent years has worsened and the public is less and less aware of what educators are trying to attain. The phenomenon is characteristic not only of education but also for other areas of public service.

At the beginning of this paper, I said that big government had come to education. I chose the words deliberately. Big government is something most people would deplore. Yet, at the same time, few offer real alternatives. We cannot return to simpler days. In education, we cannot dismantle the systems we have built up, nor destroy the complex administrations needed to run them.

It is among the multitude of tasks facing the educational administrator that he involve the citizen wherever possible in directing our schooling, recognizing the citizen's limitations in the field, but forever being alert to safeguard his place in our democratic scheme of things.

LOU HYNDMAN

The concepts and opinions advanced here derive from information gleaned from legislative debates, background reading, and letters and telephone calls from constituents in both urban and rural Alberta centres.

I will attempt to outline some areas of political interest and decision-making and to suggest the manner in which educational administrators will be involved in these areas in the next decade.

THE END OF THE "SACRED COW" ERA

It is no longer axiomatic that the public will, without question, support higher and higher educational expenditures. Increasingly, taxpayers are putting educators to the test – requiring them to explain fully and justify proposals for increases in education spending. Educational administrators will be called upon to make a convincing case for every increase in existing cost items and for expenditures on new undertakings. Hard facts, projections, and statistics will be required. Persuasion will be necessary. The public will have to be sold on proposed new and increased expenditures and on proposed priorities.

The average taxpaying citizen, feeling somewhat frustrated and confused, is asking: "The monies spent by governments on education seem to jump by millions every year. Where is it all going? Are we getting one hundred cents of value for every dollar spent?"

The issue is not simply: "What new or increased tax should be instituted?"; rather, it is "Is there any justification at all for a new or increased taxes to pay for rising education costs?"

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

In 1969, Alberta spent 0.43 per cent of its total education budget on educational research. It is paradoxical that whereas in almost every other area of human endeavour research funds are available in predictable and substantial quantities to ascertain how best to spend money, major policy decisions in the educational field are still being made in an intuitive, cursory, off-the-cuff manner. Governments tend to have a "talking", rather than a "real" commitment to educational research. Certainly, in this province there is no evidence of an effective, considered policy as to what kinds of research should be done, by whom in what way, and at what cost.

It is significant to note that the percentage of expenditure for Canadian industrial research and development is significantly higher than that for education. For example: metals industry – twice as much; mines, petroleum, and chemical industry – three times as much; electrical industries – thirteen times as much.

It will be the job of educational administrators to convince citizens and governments of the value of educational research as an investment; to assist in choosing the areas in which research should be carried out; and to sell the concept that educational research funds should not be turned on and off like a hose tap.

COMMUNICATIONS – ARE WE GETTING THROUGH?

There is a real danger that everybody involved in the educational process will, in the next ten years, be submerged in a swamp of meaningless verbiage.

> "Values are a form of affective reaction. They include a cognitive component but are also of a neural, visceral nature."

This gibberish appears in the Alberta Tentative Course Outline for Social Studies, grades 1 to 12, dated January, 1969. Such nonsense is guaranteed to "turn off" teachers, parents, taxpayers, and legislators. There is no reason whatever why concepts cannot be stated in basic English. Educational administrators should strive to remember that they are obliged to communicate not only with other educational administrators but also with the rest of the community. There is no surer way to turn public opinion against proposed reforms, improvements, and expenditures in education than by surrounding concepts with a foggy veil of little-known multi-syllabic words.

THE FORGOTTEN DIMENSION

For the past twenty years the interest and concerns of youngsters from ages four to eleven have been shunted off into a corner, compared to the intensity of concern for junior and senior high school and post-secondary education. Yet pre-school and elementary education is probably the most crucial stage of schooling for a child. One gains the impression that many many educators consider pre-school and elementary education to be a poor country-cousin when dollars and talent are being made available. Although for years there has been well-documented proof of the value of early childhood education, Alberta will be one of the last provinces of Canada to institute comprehensive schooling in this area.

Educational administrators should watch for and stimulate renewed emphasis and interest by governments in improved educational techniques and facilities for the child under twelve.

THE ROLE OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS – DECREASING?

In discussing educational reform, most people seem to assume without question that the present control over education by provincial governments will continue and increase, and that this trend is desirable. I wish to question this assumption. By the end of this decade, private corporations will probably be actively marketing educational systems all over Canada. In the United States, private firms are bidding for and winning contracts for public education. One company is handling the entire remedial education program for the San Diego School District; another has won contracts in the Texarkana public school system.

The reason for this trend is simple: private business, with the use of advanced technological capabilities, is able to educate students more effectively, in less time, at far lower cost and then come up with proof of performance – something that the public education system has never been either willing or able to do. As well, a "voucher system" which involves a public and private school "market place mix," is now under study by an agency of the United States federal government. It holds promise.

Educational administrators should not assume that in the future education will be solely governed within the structure of an all-embracing provincial Department of Education. There are many areas in which private business may well be able to do the job better. View this trend not with suspicion but with enthusiasm.

THE NEW RELIGION – "BIG – BIGGER – BIGGEST"

About fifteen years ago the much-ballyhooed goal, borrowed from business and industry, of uninterrupted growth in everything was adopted in the field of education. The result: a trend toward huge, dehumanized, cold, uninspiring schools of one thousand or two thousand students, or more. For youngsters, the process of education should be exciting and challenging. Within these new education "factories", students, teachers, and administrators are dulled and feel helplessly caught up in a ponderous, impersonal machine. Personal contact between students and teachers, and between teachers and administrators, is not possible.

It may be that in this decade educators will turn away from both the bigness and the "efficiency" that have been the hallmark of educational development over the past fifteen years. In my view, there is a point in school size beyond which the quality of education deteriorates rapidly. The continued, forced centralization of many rural schools in Alberta may turn out to be a minor tragedy. Educational television and new concepts such as "bringing the teacher to the student", could combine the best features of the comprehensive school and the little schoolhouse.

Rigidly uniform provincial school curricula will be reworked. It is nonsensical that a student in a small rural hamlet should be required to follow the same curriculum as a student in a huge metropolitan area. Educational administrators must be prepared to move out from the highly centralized "nerve center" curriculum development concept of today into areas outside provincial capitals where they can meet daily with students, teachers, local administrators, and citizens – and, in consultation with all of these groups, develop a curriculum that is suited for that particular area.

A difficult but exciting decade is ahead. In some areas of education, only slight shifts of emphasis are necessary. In others, massive reform and major surgery are required. Tackling these challenges will require perseverance, patience, goodwill, and an exhausting application of mental and physical energy. I am confident that educational administrators will meet and successfully take on that challenge.

FOOTNOTES

GIRARD

[1] William D. Southworth, "The School Board - 1980," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 131-3.

[2] There is an emerging body of research on board-superintendent power relationships. See, for example, M.W. Kirst (ed.), *The Politics of Education* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Company, 1970), p.v., who suggests that lay control of the schools may be a myth, that the political influence of the superintendent appears to dominate most spheres of urban and suburban policy making.

[3] S.C.T. Clarke, "The Role of Teachers in Decision Making," *The ATA Magazine*, Vol. 48, No. 4, (February, 1968), pp. 11-15.

MYHRE

[1] Keith Goldhammer, "Community Politics and Education", *The C.S.A. Bulletin* (December, 1967), p. 5.

[2] E.D. Hodgson, "The Canadian Provinces: The Politics of Education." An address to the American Educational Research Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 1970.

[3] D. Erickson, J. Hills, and N. Robinson, "Instructional Flexibility in Vancouver Schools." A public document of the Vancouver Public School Board, 1970.

[4] Goldhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[5] E. Hodgson, "Decision Making and the Politics of Education." Unpublished address to the Manitoba Conference on the Superintendency, Brandon, 1968.

[6] A.J.C. King, "Preparing for Change", *School Progress (September, 1970), p.40.*

[7] G.A. Clarke, "Teachers' Perception of Decision Making" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1970).

* * *

part three

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES:

Curriculum
Communication
Change

MAURICE GIBBONS
ART McBEATH
ROBERT PULLEYBLANK
TERENCE McKAGUE
BILL ALMOLKY
BRUCE HOGLE
CHUCK ROSE

Personal, Interpersonal, and Public Power:

A Warehouse Model in Curriculum Development

MAURICE GIBBONS

TEACHING GAMES

1. A chooses something he thinks important, teaches it to B, and tests B's mastery of it.

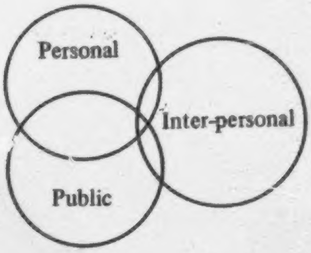
2. B helps A to identify the greatest problem in his work. B can only ask questions that help A to make his own decisions. Evaluation: Did A identify his greatest problem?

3. Two pairs of people form a small group. The members of the group each state what they would like to do "right now." The group negotiates one thing they will do together. In the end everyone should have modified his original position somewhat.

* These games represent three different ways to formulate objectives, teach, learn, evaluate, and organize.

** Involvement in the games is another way of experiencing ideas about the different forms of teaching.

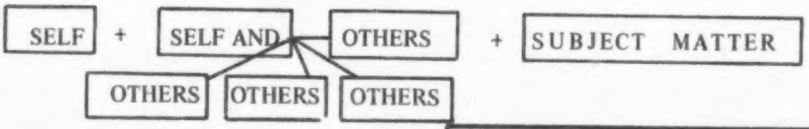
*** All three games and the kinds of teaching they represent are important.



Power to the Pupil!

* **WHAT CONTENT FOR A CURRICULUM?**

When the stripper practises her trade, she learns
zippers, bumps, grinds, and bawdy language.
She also learns about herself,
and about her relationship to others,
Everytime we teach students they learn about:

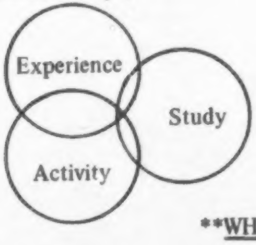


The content in all three lessons should be constructive, the students' experience positive.

THREE SOURCES OF CONTENT
(Three Realms of Knowing)

	Personal	Inter-personal	Public
	What is experienced through the senses. Private to the individual sensorium.	What is shared directly through interaction. Unique to members of the particular sharing group.	What is generally accepted as true or worthwhile. Historical events, ideas and invention according to authority (consensus, evidence, logic, experience).
Proof for decision	Feeling of rightness	Negotiated agreement or understanding	Consensus or evidence
Process	Involvement leading to self-awareness	Participation leading to community	Comprehension leading to mastery
	Developing self-power: awareness . . . feeling . . . concentration . . . meditation. . . contemplation . . . visualization . . . fantasy . . . spontaneity . . . intuition . . . invention	Developing group–power: openness . . . sensitivity . . . empathy . . . communication . . . negotiation . . . ability to present and accept relationships, leadership	Developing it-power: gather . . . examine . . . comprehend . . . organize . . . interpret . . . discuss . . . express . . . utilize

Developing self-power to improve	Developing group-power to improve	Developing it-power to improve
self-concept . . .self-direction . . .awareness . . . quality of experience. . depth of response . . . integration . . . philosophy religion . . .generativity . . . intuition . . . joy	decision-making . . .shared direction . . .communication . . shared experience . . . mutuality and interdependence . . . caring, helping . . . selection . . . developing, management . . . negotiation . . .intimacy . . . success . . . productivity	acceptance and rejection of direction from others. . . reasoned judgment. . .focus, perspective. . .order, competence. . .understanding.



Power to the Pupil! (a definition of teaching)

**WHAT APPROACH TO LEARNING THESE CONTENTS

(1) Learning begins with memorable reference points in reality – the landscape (2) Experience is generalized for going beyond now – the geography (3) Abstractions are useful if they help us to solve real problems – the struggle – or to create – the release

Experience: Direct and Concrete	Difficult in school
Abstractions: Facts, Ideas, Theories	Most suitable to school practice. Most practised
Activity: Problem Solution, Production	Usually artificial in school

> Notice the overlap: these realms and dimensions are not mutually exclusive, independent, or exhaustive. They are descriptive. In any teaching-learning situation all may be involved to some degree.

THREE DIMENSIONS OF LEARNING

Concrete Experience	Study	Productive Activity
Direct experiencing of. . .self, others, environments, events, objects, performances, skills	Concentration on. . .self, others, facts, theories, orders of information, skills	Production of. . .creations, proposals, analyses, solutions, constructions, organizations, entertainments

BEING

EXPERIENCE

To experience (as the word is used here) is to be in the presence of the real thing. To contact, manipulate, play with, come to know through the senses, the thing for its necessary duration. What are stones? What is their potential? How do you ride a bike?

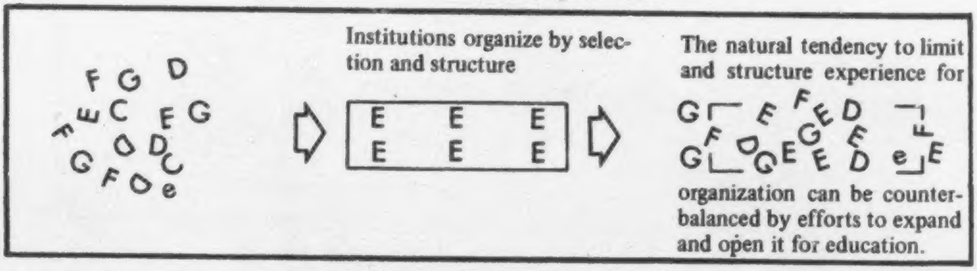
To experience is to record, to contain, more knowledge than can ever be expressed. An experience can never be fully related to a student: a student can never fully relate what he has experienced.

Experience is essential for development of the senses and individual abilities. It is the landscape without which geography is meaningless. It is the substance of metaphor, the vocabulary of imagination.

Experience we can relate to in many ways. Abstractions can only be related to in highly restricted ways.

Institutionalization of experience homogenizes it, and often shifts

participation	to	observation
involvement in concrete experience	to	manipulating abstractions
personal style	to	uniform procedure, routine
sharing	to	psychic isolation
spontaneity	to	planned and managed behavior



Institutions organize by selection and structure

The natural tendency to limit and structure experience for organization can be counterbalanced by efforts to expand and open it for education.

Question: If you give students freedom, don't most of them do nothing?

For some students freedom to explore is not enough. Many need to be introduced to new experiences and to be with others who have already enjoyed satisfying experiences. Many need guidance in becoming open, capable of using their senses, capable of focusing attention, capable of responding, concerned enough to form opinions and judgements, confident enough to invent and experiment and feel the joy of it.

Teach students to be free (to know more real choices, to be self-directing in making and pursuing choices) while giving them more freedom (time and facilities for options). Become available but dispensable. Isn't good teaching a good disappearing act?

Purpose: Greater range, quality, and depth of experience.

REFLECTING

STUDY

Concentration on an object to understand, explain, or memorize its features, or to solve a problem about it.

Persevering beyond the familiar and easy to master a skill or to make sense of something.

Organizing information to facilitate comprehension: grouping items, showing relationships among them, arguing from evidence.

Application of information to the solution of a problem. Ability to synthesize. Development of a personal style in handling knowledge.

Question: Are you saying study and content aren't important?

No. That study is an important part of the process of making sense of the world, but only a part. That study should help us to better understand our experiences and should help us find and do the things we want to do. That a mastery of content is important, but that ideas and skills important to me may not be important or necessary to you. That the essence of study is mastering the commitments and skills required in studying well.

Purpose: Greater concentration, comprehension, and retention.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S POSTERS	SCHOOL NOTES
Love begins when another person's needs become more important than your own.	When the sperm enters the ovum, fertilization occurs and, through the process of cell division, growth begins.
Today is the first day of the rest of your life.	French rule in England began when the forces of William of Orange defeated the forces of Harold at Hastings. State five major changes this caused in English life.
War is good business. Invest your son . . . War is a dying business . . . War is not healthy for children and other living things.	Anyone found in the halls after the second bell and without a permission slip will serve a 30-minute detention in room 139.
Support your local planet.	The main elements of fiction are plot, setting, character, and theme.
To know solitude is to enjoy freedom.	Set up the apparatus as diagrammed on page 102 of the lab manual.
"I do my thing, and you do your thing. I am not in this world to live up to your expectations And you are not in this world to live up to mine. You are you and I am I And if by chance we find each other It's beautiful." Fritz Perls	No talking. No smoking. No loitering. No running. No admission.
The miracle of now!	
Feeling Groovy	

DOING

PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY

Any activity – drawing on one or both of experience and study – that leads toward a student-made product.

The student selects from alternative ideas he has studied and draws upon his concrete experiences, and where possible extends them by the force of his own imagination and reflective powers. He makes certain ideas and experiences his own by committing himself to them and acting upon them.

It is quite possible that study and experience will be contradictory – that the student can only commit himself to a position in opposition to those he has studied, for instance.

In productive activity the student exercises

- initiative in selecting and pursuing the activity
- determination and industry in completing activities (that matter to him) when completion becomes difficult
- self-assessment of the quality of his product.

Such activity may be satisfying in itself (e.g. meditation, play). It may lead to invention. It may lead to a useful product. That product may be action (e.g. political action), abstraction (e.g. a written argument), or a concrete object (e.g. a ripple tank).

Purpose: The formulation and pursuit of more satisfying activities for one's self and for others.

Personal
Interpersonal
Public

PERSONAL	INTERPERSONAL	PUBLIC
Seeking Sensing	Interacting Sharing	Choosing Observing
Concentrating Contemplating	Deciding Organizing	Recording Practicing
Inventing Developing	Planning Constructing	Acting Assessing

Present school emphasis

Learning in the Personal Realm

A matter of both letting go and gaining control of one's self. Letting go of traditional or habitual restraints and becoming open to all experience.
Gaining control of one's attention and effort to give them focus.
Being free both to enjoy, and to sustain great effort.

Growth psychology, gestalt therapy, psycho-cybernetics, developmental drama, meditation (intellectual arm of the yoga), religious experience, exposure to, and performance in, the fine arts are some fields of training in this area. All the creative arts and crafts apply. Properly approached, any experience.

Learning in the Interpersonal Realm.

A matter of both giving to the group – sharing openly, leading, being sensitive and supportive to others – and taking from the group – others' contributions, personal support and affection. Again, openness and control.
Group life and group productivity are two different dimensions of interpersonal learning. The group can be a social unit worth studying for its own sake – group interaction and one's own dynamics in the group. And the group as a functioning unit: task orientation, group dynamics, styles of operation and roles to be played in that style.
What makes group life most satisfying? What makes group functioning most successful?

Giving and taking with others. Leading and following. Contributing and being helped.
Aspiring to the condition of primitive ritual in feeling and of jazz combo in pursuing task.

Group theory, group dynamics, group therapy, interpersonal behavior studies and theories, psycho-drama, interpersonal theories of personality, encounter and sensitivity groups, synectics, synanon-type groups are some fields of training in this area.

Learning in the Public Realm

This is the realm of learning that preoccupies the schools.
Learning to comprehend, absorb, and manipulate information and skills that are historically authentic. Things that have been said before and done before – validity demonstrated by logic or evidence, or agreed upon in consensus.

Understanding is essential, then the organization of one's own order, finally the ability to assess and redirect one's conceptual system. The continuous modification and reorganization of a personal conceptual system and value system.

Theories of taxonomy, methods in all kinds of search and do procedures, resource materials of all kinds and media (how to get at the information, how to use it); using basic systems, basic tools; memory and study procedures, organizing techniques and models; experimentation and interviewing are some fields of training in this area.

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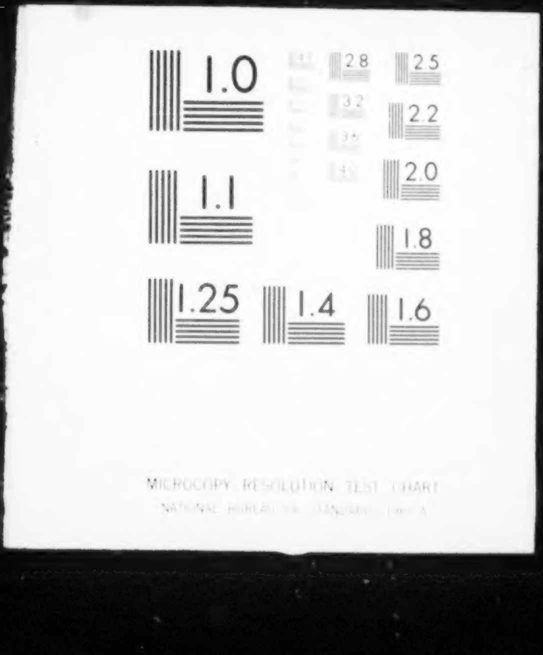
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS 1963-A

There are times when it is advantageous to have clear and specific objectives and times when it is advantageous to have no objectives whatsoever – to have only such instructional subjectives as:

playing being meditating exploring acting spontaneously
dreaming relating feeling responding loving

Particularly during concrete experiences, the depth of experience will depend in part upon the person's ability to be open, to be responsive, to suspend his own intentions in favor of receptivity and spontaneous responses to the play, the dance, the sunset, the magnets. . .And, in group participation it is important to suspend one's own intentions and become aware of other's feelings and ideas. . .Even in study one must be prepared to reject given objectives as invalid, inappropriate, or unimportant at times. What a price to pay if mastering someone else's objectives means learning to distrust or ignore one's own sensorium.

Objectives likely have a place if there are at least three kinds.

My objectives	Our objectives	Their objectives
Personal realm . . . set by learner	Interpersonal realm. . . decided by a group of learners.	Public realm. . .determined for learner by expert or authority.

And there should be time when there are no objectives. Good things can happen in unstructured time. General direction during school years should be toward students following personal objectives with other kinds of objectives becoming optional choices. Perhaps we should think of grade twelve as a year in which students are completely independent and self-directed, and the previous years as preparation for success in such an experience.

Sequences

Personal Realm	Interpersonal Realm	Public Realm
"Universal Curriculum" of psycho-social and cognitive developmental stages. (Erikson, Piaget, Kohlberg)	Unique development of group and group life.	Subject-centered structures in order of increasing complexity.

Purposes: To enhance the quality of life for self and others, now and in the future.

Individuals helping each other to understand themselves, explore ways of living, make commitments, and struggle for accomplishment. A balance of personal, interpersonal, and public organizers.

TEACHING INVOLVES METHODS

There are many methods. . .for changing the behavior of others. . .for changing one's own behavior. . .for working together as a group to change behavior.

Teachers should draw from a variety of techniques. Choose method appropriate for purpose and context.

Not "Guru or Commissar" but Guru and Leader and Instructor and. . .where appropriate.

Methods in Personal Realm	Methods in the Interpersonal Realm	Methods in the Public Realm
Helping: guiding people in becoming self-directive. . subordinating one's own intentions for others to nurturing others' intentions for themselves.	Negotiating: working with people to negotiate decisions, to accept direction, to provide leadership, and to enjoy relationships.	Directing: showing people how to master a skill or field in the most efficient possible way.
Guru, Counsellor, Guide Suggesting alternatives, asking questions, identifying difficulties, guiding into an experience, responding to questions, helping nondirectively.	Leader, Mediator, Participant Providing situations for normal, friendly relationships; helping participants to understand each other, to identify conflicts, and to resolve them; leading the group to successful negotiation and accomplishment, transferring leadership to the group, participating in the group.	Instructor, Director, Performer Providing resources for mastery, directing instruction in particular fields, preparing instructional materials, demonstrating skills, teaching strategies of mastery.

Nothing wrong with directing, even rigorous directing, if the student has alternative choices, or the choice not to attend, or choices among alternative forms of direction (class, tutorial, programmed instruction, study packet, independent study project, CAI, and so on).

TEACHING INVOLVES A CONTEXT

School is usually the only choice – and is usually the most sterile, the most inappropriate. The real context question: What is the very best context (location, environment, resources) for this particular teaching-learning experience?

. . .a living room. . .a workshop. . .an artist's studio. . .a church. . .a mountain retreat (notice that conferences are seldom held in a school). . .a computer centre. . .a beach. . .another province. . .another country.

Media bring the globe to the village. . .Transport takes the villagers throughout the Globe – to the Global Theatre. . .the Global School.

Some contexts – for community, read local district, country, world.

School context	Simulated context	Available community contexts	Possible community contexts
classroom, school grounds	media bringing world in, media for reaching out to the world, media for simulating the world, media for creating an imaginary world	libraries, zoos, resorts, physical recreation centres, businesses, professionals, theatres, art, ruins, cultures, events	Vast possibilities for organizing the community to create learning contexts.

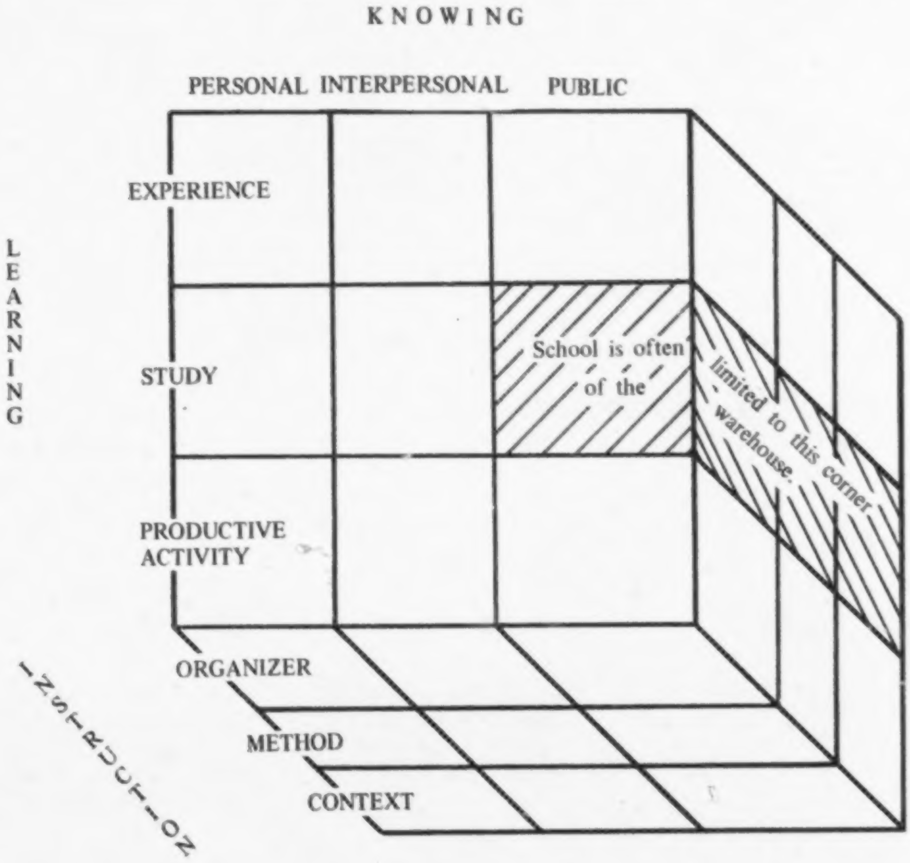
Personal Realm	Interpersonal Realm	Public Realm
*Can choose a private context *Psychic and/or physical solitude	*In groups: various sizes, kinds of places, degrees of intimacy, kinds of activities, locales	*Variety of contexts for exploring alternatives. Variety of circumstances for mastering particular skills and bodies of knowledge.

The shape of the environment shapes the events that occur within it.

The quality of the environment influences the quality of life that occurs within it.

An environment you cannot escape is a prison. The environment is a message, also. What does it say day after day? What do you want it to say?

THE WAREHOUSE MODEL FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT


KNOWING
PERSONAL
INTERPERSONAL
PUBLIC
LEARNING
EXPERIENCE
STUDY
PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY
INSTRUCTION
ORGANIZER
METHOD
CONTEXT
School is often of the
limited to this corner warehouse.

****USING THE WAREHOUSE MODEL

A. In Planning a New Course.

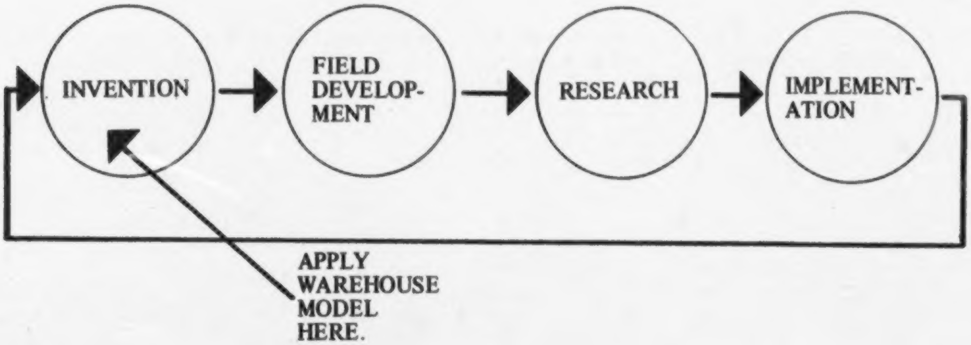
Example: Elements in Teaching English – Poetry.

(The three items in each square refer to the organizing principle, method, and context).

		PERSONAL	INTERPERSONAL	PUBLIC
EXPERIENCE	O.P.	Students shop for poems and poets of high personal interest.	Students share poetry finds and experiences with them.	Students experience new poems and live poets presented to them. Aim: Peak experience.
	M.	Students explore a rich resource of books, broadsheets, tapes, records, and films. Teacher on hand to guide and discuss.	Students sharing and responding. Teacher joining in.	Presentations with music, light, slides, dance, etc. by teacher and assistants (students and others).
	C.	Resource collection and solitude.	Small self-selected groups. Meeting places.	Nearby church, jail, etc.
STUDY	O.P.	Students make personal plans for studying poems, poets, aspects of poetry.	Students share their individual concerns, or select major questions they will all take part in answering.	Students learn principles of poetry (historical, biographical, critical, etc.) suggested by individual and group concerns.
	M.	Discuss plans with students, helping them to decide.	Non-directive seminar method. Private study follows in answering the questions.	Examples: – Packages on "Tracing the genesis of poems through manuscripts." – Class experiences in metaphorical thinking –Lecture with slides on a poet of high interest
	C.	Choice of classroom, library, university, poet's home, theatre.	Small groups by interest in area of poetry or type of question. Various locations for study.	Home and School

		Personal	Interpersonal	Public
PRODUCTIVITY	O.P.	Students use experiences and accomplishments in study as basis for creative activity.	Students use experiences and accomplishments in study to create an experience with the group or for others.	Students make experiences and accomplishments in study their own through interpretive activities.
	M.	Examples: –Creating poems –Responding to poems in another media Teacher available to assist and respond.	Examples: – Creating tone poems in other media – Poems collected around a theme (e.g. The Family of Man, War, Beauty of Earth) for multi-media presentation – Teacher is advisor and consultant.	Examples: – Students create anthologies for lower grades. – Presentation on Indian Poetry and Tribal Life. Multi-media biography of a poet. Teacher assigns, suggests, and /or supervises.
	C.	Whenever appropriate: art room, dark room, solitary corner, art gallery, beach, etc.	Whenever appropriate: auditorium, public library, film companies, listening rooms, television statements.	Whenever appropriate: classroom, resources areas, and in the field.

B. In Planning a School Program.



The following sketch suggests one kind of program that could be developed during the process of inventing a conception of schooling.

EXPERIENCE

	Personal	Interpersonal	Public
O.P.	Developing personal capacity to experience internal and external "events." Balance: openness and control.	Developing capacity to experience a group, share experience with a group, and create an experience with a group. Balance: giving and receiving.	Developing capacity to get into a directed experience of a new kind to a new level. Balance: understanding and questioning.
M.	Training for experience, in awareness of self and responsiveness to environments, events. Directive: sensory and concentration training. Elective: experience selected from each category: Adventure, Work, Service, Play, Solitude, Aesthetics, People Different from Myself, Nature, (and experiences arranged on topics of personal interest).	Training for, experience in, awareness and responsiveness to others, situations. Directive: group participation training. Elective: experience from each category negotiated: Group Clarification; Performances, Celebrations and Rituals; sharing Personal Experiences; Tasks, Challenges and Adventures; the Family; Organizations; Other People (and experiences arranged on particular group-selected topics).	Training for, experience in, awareness of and responsiveness to new works, events. Directive: Training necessary to particular experience (basic communication skill, observing, selecting). Required: experience from each category arranged: Earth, People, Entertainment, Communication, Vocations, Situations, The Past (and experiences assigned for particular students and groups of students).
C.	On location or in privacy.	On location or in group meeting places.	On location

STUDY

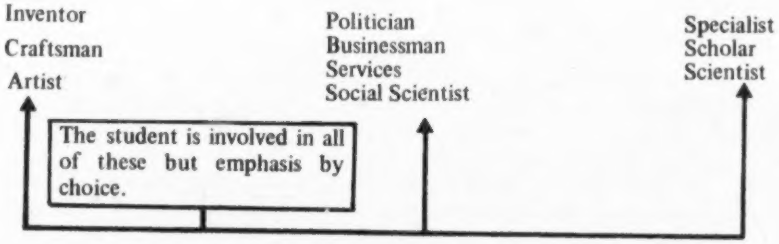
	PERSONAL	INTERPERSONAL	PUBLIC
O.P.	Developing ability to focus, concentrate, and maintain attention on a particular area of experience. Balance: Selecting and rejecting.	Developing ability to negotiate alternatives, make decisions, and function cooperatively. Balance: criticizing and supporting.	Developing ability to comprehend, organize, and master public knowledge. Balance: study and application.
M.	Mastering personally desired skills and knowledge. Directive: training in planning and execution. Elective: study of issues selected by individuals.	Mastering skills and knowledge desired by group. Directive: training in leadership and negotiation. Elective: Study of issues selected by groups.	Mastering skills and knowledge of widely recognized importance. Directive: training in study (organizing) and performance. Required: study of programs by specialists and available in a variety of forms. Elective: intensive units.
C.	In school and on location	In school and on location	In school and on location

Study and Practice in Units Offered on: Earth, People, Entertainment, Communication, Vocations, Situations (moral, personal, political dilemmas and responses), The Past (integrated art, history, politics, literature, religion, archaeology, etc.), and Functions (computation, analysis, evaluation, synthesis, logic, metaphorical thinking, etc.).

Why not an internationally acceptable program of public knowledge?

PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY

	Personal	Interpersonal	Public
O.P.	Developing personal industry and generativity for self-fulfilment. Balance: responding and creating.	Developing ability to cooperate in group accomplishment. Balance: planning and effort.	Developing ability to solve problems and master skills necessary for solutions. Balance: Analysis and synthesis.
M.	Developing fluency of invention and skill in expressing it. Directive: training in metaphorical, analogical thinking.	Developing group generativity and execution. Directive: training in operating procedures for invention and development.	Developing use of resources. Directive: training in skills required to solve problems, accomplish tasks.
	Elective: choice of self-expressive activities.	Elective: choice of agreed upon activities.	Required: assigned or custom-designed activities.
C.	Where desired.	When appropriate.	Where necessary.



The student is involved in all of these but emphasis by choice.

It looks like a packed program but
The school program dissolves as soon as possible so that the personal program can emerge – at every stage of schooling.

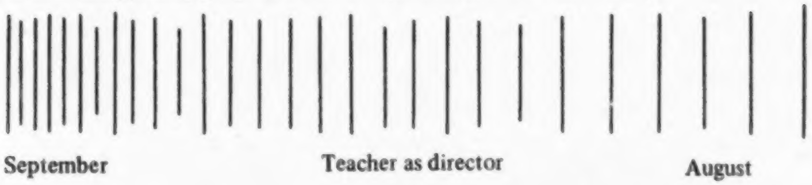
The school expands to include all possible locations, resources, and people, including experiences, study, and activity opportunities created by the community.

Many will be ready to begin on their own at any level. Some may need the option of guidance for much of the time.

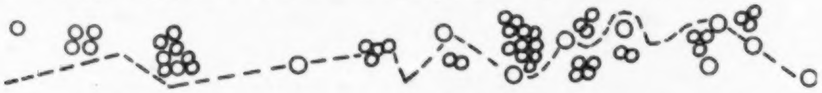
SCHOOLING IS ENABLING . . . IT IS A DISAPPEARING ACT.

DYNAMICS

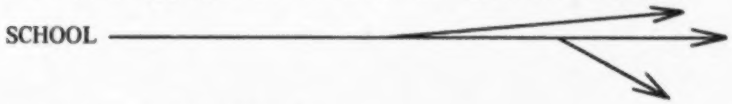
a. The disappearing program (of training and organized experiences).



b. The appearing program (of individual and group-controlled experiences).



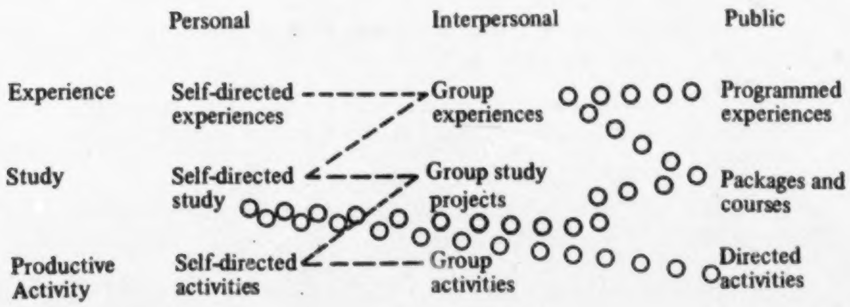
c. The spreading program (of locations, materials, and resource people).



C. An Open Program of Schooling

The school program derived from the model can be quite different from the preceding example. It can be more prescriptive and closed, or it can be more elective, individual, and open, depending on the planners' philosophy and their interpretation of the school's role.

A more open program could look like this (the two lines represent examples of different individual students' programs selected from those made available in, and through, the school):



	Personal	Interpersonal	Public
Experience	Self-directed experiences	Group experiences	Programmed experiences
Study	Self-directed study	Group study projects	Packages and courses
Productive Activity	Self-directed activities	Group activities	Directed activities

This model is designed for use in the invention of curriculum – a unit, a course, or a program of schooling.

No particular curriculum fashions are implicit in the model, but an argument for a more balanced view of content, learning, and instruction is implicit.

Argument: The compartments in the warehouse analogy represent elements that should be part of every school program, even if the school does not accept the slogan:
Power to the Pupil! And Responsibility! (for his own learning).

• • • • • • • • • • • • • •

Decentralization of Program Decision-Making

ART McBEATH

Many teachers and students have been calling for a significant decision-making role regarding the educational program. At the present time, however, there is some ambiguity as to allocation of responsibilities in the development and revision of educational programs. A committee of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation has established a proposal which would eliminate this ambiguity and establish clearly the program development responsibilities of teachers and others. The proposal distinguishes four decision-making levels – classroom, school, school system, and province. It further distinguishes four aspects of the educational program – goals, curriculum, instruction, and evaluation. Problems associated with the implementation of the proposal are considered.

For years many teachers have been seeking means whereby they could introduce changes in what they were teaching and in the way they were doing it. In general, central administration and department of education officials have argued that teachers already have the freedom to make these changes if they truly desire to do so. Teachers, in turn, have argued that provincial courses of study never did make clear what aspects could legitimately be changed by teachers. Nevertheless, persistent and determined teachers employed in systems where some encouragement was given, or at least where heads were turned the other way, have found opportunities to make the modifications they desired. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that most educators would prefer to have more educational program decisions made closer to the operational level. Miklos provides an excellent recent summary of this evidence.[1]

Discussions related to more involvement of teachers in program decision-making have tended to concentrate on the "all-or-nothing" approach. Many staunch professionals have maintained the position that most curriculum decisions should be made by students and teachers. The counter argument has usually been that teachers are not qualified and do not have the time or resources to make these decisions.

The Advisory Committee on Curriculum of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation has been studying this issue for two years.[2] We have assumed that the "all-or-nothing" approach would be of little avail at this time. Thus, the crucial problem is to identify those aspects of the educational program which can be most effectively determined at each decision-making level. Simpkins and Friesen, as a result of their study in Alberta, concluded that,

> . . . there was firm evidence of a desire on the part of teachers for more power in general. However, there was also evidence that teachers wanted the extent and type of participation to vary considerably with the nature of the task.[3]

The desire for more involvement by teachers has also been found in Saskatchewan studies. Newton, for example, found this desire in his study of Saskatoon teachers.[4] In a representative sample of Saskatchewan educators, I found a fairly consistent pattern of perceptions to the effect that most program decisions are now being made at the provincial level. There was overwhelming agreement that fewer decisions should be made at this level and that more decisions should be made at the school and classroom levels.[5] One point that should be noted, however, is that this desire for decentralized program decision-making is not as evident among the public, school boards, and government as it is among educators.

THE PROPOSAL

In developing a definite proposal as to how this change could take place, a number of possibilities had to be taken into account.

The thesis developed by the Saskatchewan group defines and restricts *curriculum* to mean intended learning and assigns responsibilities for curriculum decisions to the provincial level. *Instruction* is defined as the means by which the intended learnings are attained and responsibility for decisions in this aspect of educational program is assigned to the teacher and the school.

The purpose of this paper is to explain and to justify this position.

There are two major parts to the position. The first part concerns the persons who make the program decisions; the second part concerns the kind of decisions that are made.

DECISION-MAKING LEVELS

In dealing with the persons involved in program decision-making, we have restricted ourselves to the levels at which decisions are made. These are the four levels of the classroom, the school, the school system, and the province. In addition, one might consider the national level. In British, Canadian, and American literature there is some agreement on these decision-making levels.

The classroom is the instructional level. The school is the institutional level. The school system and the province can be considered as societal levels.

Educators have advocated that program decisions should be made closer to the level at which learning takes place, the classroom, but it is not likely that all program decisions can be decentralized. What kind should be or could be?

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

In developing this position one of our first concerns was to define our terms with a little more clarity and specificity than is typically the case. We were aware that this was fraught with dangers and that to make arbitrary definitions would not work.

In trying to arrive at definitions that would help us determine the function of persons occupying roles at different decision-making levels, we surveyed the work of contemporary curriculum theorists.

The basic model which we accepted was that of Mauritz Johnson from Cornell University.[6]

The educational program embraces four areas: broad goals, curriculum, instruction, and evaluation.

Goals are the more general reasons for education. Society should determine, through its agents, the general cultural values which will guide the selection of curriculum. We have taken the position that the province is the geographical boundary of a society and within these boundaries certain broad goals of education need to be articulated. This is basically the responsibility of the provincial government and its agents. Within the limits established for our provincial society, each school system may desire to provide for some special goals. It may be possible for each school to arrive at some goals which are unique to each community.

Although the profession should have a well articulated opinion on goals, it must be clear that society as a whole has ultimate responsibility for their formulation.

The second aspect of the educational program is curriculum. Curriculum is defined as a structured series of intended learnings and objectives. Thus, curriculum spells out the outcomes which are expected from formal schooling. Curriculum prescribes the results of instruction. It indicates what is to be learned.

Curriculum includes content and organization. A common classification of content is made up of three categories: knowledge, techniques, and values. The generalizations and concepts to be learned are part of curriculum.

The cognitive skills and psychomotor skills that a student should be able to practise are part of curriculum. The attitudes, appreciations, and values that society feels should be exhibited are part of curriculum.

Curriculum as limited to these outcomes should be prescribed mainly at the provincial level. Where a school system or school has some unique goals, then these intended learnings need to be prescribed at these respective levels.

The provincial curriculum committees should be made up of the best advisors we can obtain from the disciplines and from among the teachers, but the number participating will be small. Furthermore, we are taking the position that revision of curriculum should be possible locally only if permission is obtained from the responsible authority.

The third aspect of the educational program is instruction. This is the part of the educational program which facilitates attainment of the intended outcomes as set out in the curriculum statements. "Concepts and generalizations are not learned directly but rather through numerous encounters with specific manifestations, the selection of which is an instructional, rather than curricular, function."7

Instruction includes content, strategies and methods, materials, and organization so that the intended outcomes can be attained. Different kinds of curriculum impose varying restrictions on instructional content.

Our proposal is that instruction becomes the responsibility of the school and the teachers. Thus, decisions regarding specific content, materials and resources such as texts and references, and organization should be made by the teacher operating within his school framework as a member of the educational team.

The fourth aspect of program is evaluation. Pupil evaluation obviously becomes the major responsibility of the teacher and staff.

Program evaluation (not student evaluation) will have to be carried out at all levels so as to generate information upon which to base future decisions at a particular level. Thus, society needs to become involved as well as students in assessing the appropriateness of the goals as well as their attainment.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL

Although this is only a proposal to the legislative body of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, a number of events indicate the practicality of the position which we have developed.

For instance, some of the recent work of Department curriculum committees is in the direction proposed here. Although some of them still include instructional content, in the future we believe this should and will be removed. As a matter of fact, the largest percentage of the content of most present curriculum guides is instructional in nature and not curricular.

We now have a financial procedure whereby the Department of Education provides grants in lieu of free texts. This is a move in the direction of making it possible for teachers to make the decisions regarding textbooks which are part of instruction.

A number of our well qualified younger teachers feel that they have been making many of the instructional decisions. This proposal is practical for just that reason . . . A number of our teachers are already operating in this way.

In evaluation, we have been without external examinations except at grade 12 for many years. This year the government has instituted a policy of accreditation by teacher – by subject. We will not know the exact number of grade 12 teachers who will choose to be accredited until later in the term, but over eight hundred have attended professional exchange seminars, which is one of the criteria for accreditation. Thus, a fairly large number of our grade 12 teachers will be assessing their students through a process of continuous evaluation.

A question about implementation, raised mainly by administrators, concerns the desire by teachers and the ability of teachers to make instructional decisions. We are firmly committed to the principle that the teacher has to be involved in making these decisions; superimposed instructional changes will not be effective. Thus, some teachers are anxious and prepared to make changes; others would prefer to retain the means which have been successful for them for a number of years. We feel that Special Subject Councils will have an important role to play in providing suggestions for teachers. This is already the case.

Consultants from school systems, the university, and the Department of Education could have a very meaningful role as teachers find themselves needing assistance in making these decisions. Previously, it was never clear as to the area where a teacher could make a change or not and therefore a consultant's role was not effective.

Let me conclude with several comments regarding Project Canada West now getting under way. It is the first interprovincial project of its kind and may serve as a prototype for much future program work. The purpose of the project is to develop materials and teaching strategies about Canadian cities. There are fourteen sub-projects situated in schools in the four western provinces.

At the first meeting of the sub-project personnel, Aoki presented a paper which outlined a framework for our project development.[8] His position is very similar to the one we have been preparing. In this project the same persons will be responsible for both curriculum and instructional plans mainly because there is nothing available at any other level, but the distinction will be quite important in the final output.

There is evidence to indicate that many teachers, administrators, and other educators feel that more educational program decisions should be made closer to the classroom. We hope that this proposal will accelerate movement in this direction.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Erwin Miklos, "Increasing Participation in Decision Making," *The Canadian Administrator,* IX (March, 1970).

[2] "Proposed Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Policy Statement on the Development of Educational Program in the Province of Saskatchewan." (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, February, 1970).

[3] W.S. Simpkins and D. Friesen, "Teacher Participation in School Decision-Making," *The Canadian Administrator,* VIII (January, 1969), p. 16.

[4] Earle E. Newton, "Teacher Reaction to Change," (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1966).

[5] A.G. McBeath, "A Survey of the Perceptions of the Levels of Decision-Making in Educational Program in the Elementary and Secondary Schools of Saskatchewan," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1969).

[6] Mauritz Johnson, Jr., "Definitions and Models in Curriculum Theory," in Edmund C. Short and George D. Marconnit (eds.), *Contemporary Thought on Public School Curriculum* (Dubuque, Iowa; William C. Brown Company, 1968).

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 44.

[8] T. Aoki, "A Curriculum and Instructional Design." An unpublished paper presented to Project Canada West workshop, Edmonton, June, 1970.

ROBERT LOWERY comments:

Curriculum decisions should be made where the learning takes place, at the local classroom level. This creates problems in the senior high school where the school is required to provide each student with the type of content that is required to pass a departmental examination.

Curriculum decisions must be determined at the local level if we are going to provide for the talents and interests of each student as an individual. It is impossible to develop a true continuous progress program for each student if the decisions as to what must be taught come from an authority more distant from the classroom than the local school board.

The teachers are the main force which should be involved in setting up the local curriculum based on behavioral objectives.

ROBERT LOWERY is principal of the Bishop Carroll High School in Calgary.

ELDON BLISS comments:

I find it rather difficult to respond to Dr. McBeath's paper, because I am not prepared to accept his assumption that the "all or nothing" approach would be of little avail at this time. Therefore, let me play the devil's advocate.

While I agree with his attempt to frame a proposal which may enable more educational decisions to be made closer to the classroom, I very much doubt that his proposal will do so, or that any scheme will do so that does not begin and end with the pupil as the focal point. And because the teachers in the classroom, together with the principal in his school, are the only educators who have direct contact with the pupil as an individual breathing, living, feeling, loving, fearing human being, they are the only ones capable or making sound decisions as to what, when, and how that child is best able to learn. Add to this the fact that teachers and principals have already a sufficient number of built-in restrictions imposed by habit and convention, and it becomes obvious that they most certainly do not need the additional shackles of district and provincial-level restrictions in their struggle to develop educational decision-making capabilities. Every parent has the right to expect that his child's development is in the capable hands of an educational expert. That expertise can only be developed through experience in making educational decisions in the school.

The trouble with Dr. McBeath's proposal, as with all such attempts to compromise with the "all or nothing" approach, is that it deals with program decision-making as something completely removed from youngsters – a kind of game of power politics, where pupils are the pawns whose movements are regulated by a hierarchy of bureaucratic levels, each jockeying for power to make decisions which will determine what, when, and how the child shall learn. It continues to prolong the overly-structured approach to education which has become standard on this continent. It perpetuates an approach which talks glibly of "six year olds" or of "academic streams" or of "homogeneous groups" for whom societal objectives and program content can be developed miles away from those youngsters sitting in the classroom, by people who are no more capable of interpreting the attitudes, appreciations, and values that society feels should be exhibited than are the teachers and the principal in the school.

While I would agree that the general goals of education should be set at the provincial level, it must be recognized that at best these can be little more than expressions of benevolent aspirations which may provide a rough guide to the establishment of the general climate of schools.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe that any approach dealing with decision-making levels automatically implies a hierarchy of importance which imposes restrictions on the decision-making of the classroom teacher. Where curriculum is prescribed mainly at the provincial level, the long-term objective of living in and serving society is usually emphasized, and education is regarded as being at all stages recognizably and specifically a preparation for this. It tends to impose adult objectives on the education of youngsters. In the words of the report of the Central Advisory Council of Education in England, entitled "Children and Their Primary Schools" (commonly known as the Plowden Report), "It fails to understand that the best preparation for being a happy or useful man or woman is to live fully as a child. Children need to be themselves, to live with other children and with grownups, to learn from their environment, to enjoy the present, to get ready for the future, to create and to love, to learn to face adversity, to behave responsibly; in a word to be human beings. Decisions about the influences and situations that ought to be contrived to these ends must be left to individual schools, teachers, and parents. What must be ensured is that the decisions taken in schools spring from the best available knowledge and are not simply dictated by habit or convention." It is my contention that this kind of a philosophy can be carried out only where the majority of the decision-making is done at the school level, and where system and provincial levels see their function as assisting, advising, and encouraging the schools in making their decisions, rather than restricting their ability to do so.

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Impediments to Change

ROBERT PULLEYBLANK

The practising school administrator sees impediments in his way as he plans the future course or direction of his school. He must identify and plan means of circumventing obstacles but he must also be prepared to devise impediments to directions of undesirable change. Communication must be encouraged among all parties concerned in the education process if goals are to be properly identified and if procedures are to be properly planned. Time and money must be found to utilize the potential talent and resources at his disposal so that necessary changes may take place in the seventies.

If we in education have become convinced of, and committed to, anything in the last decade, it has been that change is inevitable. It's happening–and if all we read and hear is true, it will continue to happen throughout the seventies at a whirlwind pace. The state of technology appears to be such that, from that point of view, anything which is impossible now may be possible later today–or, at the very latest, sometime next week. And the evidence of change in the people, young and older, who compose society is all about us.

So when we consider impediments to change, it cannot be from the point of view that roadblocks exist which will prevent change. Nor can we assume that some impediments are necessarily a bad thing. We must concern ourselves, rather, with identifying and circumventing those obstacles which stand in the way of desirable objectives, while at the same time we devise impediments of our own to directions of change which are less desirable.

There is something to be said, after all, for barriers of the proper sort. Dams are built on rivers not to obstruct the flow, but to control it. (The danger of being swept away in the rush of water, however, may be far greater when the dam breaks than before it was erected.)

This is not to suggest that I am a fervent supporter of measures to preserve the status quo. But perhaps my starting point is that we can neither identify nor evaluate the nature of our route until we find out where we are going.

FAILURE TO DEFINE OBJECTIVES

When we think of change we may be speaking of ends or means or both, and we had better know which. It may be that our educational objectives have been altered – or perhaps we are holding to original goals but seeking better means of achieving them. Or we're finding that different goals require different means. It is not my purpose here to discuss the objectives of education, but I suggest that a serious impediment to constructive change is that objectives are not discussed enough in the right places. Far too few school staffs can claim to have evolved a mutually acceptable expression of their educational objectives. It's a relatively rare school faculty that can express its educational intent, and the absence of clearly expressed intent is certainly an impediment to change.

I believe strongly that any school which views itself as a "lighthouse" ought to have, in written form, a coherent statement of the philosophy and purposes which are subscribed to by its teachers. This statement is not something the principal can dictate on a free half day. To be significant it must evolve as a product of the collective effort of the staff.

New teachers joining the staff have a right to know what they are getting into, and, I should think, the right to opt out if they discover that the school's objectives are incompatible with their own. It might even be possible to express the statement in terms which will be comprehensible to students and parents.

When my school opened in September 1968, the production of such a philosophical statement was high on my priority list. I would like to distribute copies of this statement to interested persons but, unfortunately, they haven't been run off yet. Or typed. Or composed.

Well, we have been busy with a lot of other important things, but we're going to get at that statement one of these days real soon. But, until we do, whatever innovation we undertake is begun with the optimistic assumption that we do know – and agree on – our general and specific goals.

I don't think my school is unique in failing to come to grips with this matter. What do you discuss in your staff meetings? How about your principals' meetings? It often seems that to become involved in the big, basic, "where-are-we-going" kind of issue, you have to go to a conference of some kind – safely insulated from the place where the work goes on and from the people who will make it happen.

THE INNOVATION BANDWAGON

If, as I suggest, there is a lack of expressed consensus regarding a school's goals, then innovation in methods, materials, and buildings becomes slightly suspect.

Have you encountered the forward looking open-area school in which uncomfortable teachers and classes huddle anxiously behind improvised barriers of portable chalkboards and rolling storage units, trying to recreate the familiar egg crate? How about the team-teaching situation which involves two teachers taking turns lecturing to an over-sized roomful of kids? Or the depressing case of the principal who opened the doors for students to study just what they wanted to – and found that they didn't want to.

I'm not knocking open-area schools, or team teaching, or freedom of student choice as such. But I do suggest that we are prone to buy educational panaceas with no greater sophistication than we do kidney pills, and at a much higher price.

The hardware merchants have found this out, of course, and in true Detroit fashion are striving to make last year's educational gadgetry obsolete. I had it patiently explained to me only last week that one of the shiny new vocational areas in my shiny new school, now in its third year of operation, is so out-of-date that it will take about $20,000 in renovation and equipment to make it adequate.

Far more worrisome is the pedagogical panacea – the classroom technique, or the redeployment of staff resources, or the reorientation of pupil-teacher relationships – which is adopted, not out of real conviction that it will better achieve our purpose, but because someone says it will and everyone's doing it.

I don't criticize the missionary zeal of the proponents of new methods and materials. They are no doubt sincere, and they may even be right in everything they claim. What I do suggest is that the criteria for decision in adopting innovative practices developed elsewhere must include an assessment of their potential contributions to the particular goals of a system or a school, as well as the availability of resources, human and material, to make them work.

It is instantly obvious that the individual teacher or administrator – or the school or system – which sits solidly on the status quo and refuses to modify either goals or methods is impeding change. But effective, positive change can also be impeded by the individual or institution which leaps headlong onto whatever bandwagon comes along. Keeping up with the Joneses may be as precarious educationally as it is domestically.

These, then, are two impediments to effective change: lack of clear, shared understanding of educational objectives; and failure to evaluate proposed innovations in the light of these objectives.

COMMUNICATION BLOCKS

You will note that I have made several references to shared understanding of educational objectives. Unquestionably, many individuals – teachers, administrators, trustees, parents, and students – have coherent and commendable educational goals. Exciting, promising things are happening in many classrooms, as a result of excellent planning. Many school systems are energetically seeking to foster an atmosphere in which change can occur.

Yet the feeling remains that much of this activity is inhibited by an unevenness of acceptance resulting from inadequate communication. One might think that enough has been said in recent years about problems of communication, but I am convinced that therein still lies another major impediment to change. The success of the tremendously complex venture that is education today hinges on an integration of the efforts and ideas of a wide variety of people, among whom sometimes the dialogue is pretty sketchy.

Parents talk to other parents. Teachers talk to teachers, students to students, administrators to administrators . . . and although they often talk about how to talk to the other groups, they still have difficulty doing it.

The old saying goes that good teachers are rewarded by being made administrators. Have you ever wondered what became of their pedagogical know-how after the promotion? Good teaching implies communication – two-way communication between students and teacher. Many of the same skills of initiating and maintaining open channels for the flow of information and understanding are also part of the administrator's repertoire of skills, and should be exploited.

An experienced broadcaster told me the other day that one of the big troubles with educators (and he included both teachers and administrators) is that they don't try hard enough to be sure that the public understands what they say.

"You're so educated, and so wrapped up in your field," he said, "that you forget to keep it simple, to make it clear and meaningful."

I think that most of us are past the stage of deliberately peddling the myth of our infallibility by surrounding ourselves with a mystical aura of superiority. But too often with teachers, and students, and the public, we may give that impression because of our failure to see that our meaning is clear.

I am often reminded of what my father used to quote, tongue in cheek, as the "first rule of pedagogy." "If they don't understand it the first time, say it louder!"

If we are going to give leadership in implementing changes in the next decade we're going to have to initiate a lot of talking and listening at a variety of levels. Yes, and a lot of selling! There are still a good many devotees of the status quo both inside and outside our profession.

I hear a lot about content as a vehicle for understanding, but I recently saw a young lad in grade 7 manfully struggling to learn the names of the capitals of twenty-two American states (why twenty-two, I have no idea). He hadn't been exposed to a map, knew little about the geography, economy, or people. But, by George, when they moved on next day to another unrelated unit, he'd know the capital of Massachusetts.

I have it on good authority that there are still schools where the caretaker insists on straight, parallel rows of desks in each classroom.

I still talk to parents who don't understand why we mess around with all this modern nonsense because in their day education was sensible and solid and the kids were scared of their teachers as kids should be.

I still find people who seriously believe that education comes in little packages, each of a size in terms of classroom minutes, each clearly labelled with its course name and credit value. A stack of packages rising to the proper height (or a scrapbook of labels reaching the proper mathematical total) entitles one to a diploma.

I still find parents, students, and teachers who believe that the reason for going to school is to get marks. Some want enough, some want a lot, some want more than anybody. Isn't it a degrading spectacle to see a classful of students poring over their newly returned test papers, not to see where they were right or wrong, but to see what marks they can squeeze out? If some of them spent half the energy learning, that they do playing the "get-the-mark" game, they'd get the marks in the first place. And what sort of reaction can you expect when you propose an assignment which is a great opportunity to learn a little more, but won't be graded?

Yes, we have some selling to do. So without doubt, another impediment to change is communication; we have failed to acknowledge that the technique of selling is a legitimate part of the schoolman's bag of tricks and that applying it will take a lot of his time.

A case in point is the cry for "relevance" in the curriculum. I don't happen to believe that our curriculum is that irrelevant now. I think a lot of the judgment which helped develop the present curriculum was and is pretty sound. But – and largely because of our own efforts – we have somehow produced a generation of kids who have to be shown. "Because I say so" isn't a good enough answer. It may not be true that something is irrelevant just because they say so either. But they demand to be shown, and deserve to be.

SCARCE RESOURCES: TIME AND MONEY

If the impediments I've mentioned so far are to be overcome, a lot of people are going to have to spend a lot of time with a lot of other people, surveying and discussing and analyzing and arriving at conclusions. The limited availability of this kind of time is yet another serious impediment to change. No other profession I know of is more time-ridden than teaching. The factory has four whistles a day – start, lunch, and quitting time. The school has as many as sixteen or twenty, at sound of which teachers and students alike change mental gears by numbers and scurry off to the next little block of time.

People like us claim to regret the loss of time from mundane schedules, but we do come to conferences. Teachers can rarely be spared for this kind of activity because classes must be met and lessons taught. Occasionally, a very few may be freed if internal arrangements can be made. Generally though, a teacher's day is spent preparing for and teaching classes, and what else he does by way of professional activity comes off his out-of-school time, chargeable to dedication.

It is a rare school or system which provides for extended conference time for teachers – with students, the public, or each other – yet this is the very heart of what I have been talking about.

To the credit of some school boards in this province, they have used the latitude given in the new School Act to make available professional development days when students are dismissed. But a recent discussion I heard on how to use these days reminded me of being in a penny-candy store with two cents to spend.

The pressure of keeping up in one's field is growing with the expansion of knowledge. Preparation for lab-oriented work and multimedia approaches is demanding. Every clerical chore which is removed from the teacher's day seems to be replaced by something else no less time-consuming. Time is a scarce commodity.

And, of course, time is money. I don't believe that our educational problems would necessarily be solved by a gigantic infusion of dollars, but we could be more comfortable while we wrestled with them. Most new ideas come with a price tag attached. So I could hardly exclude finances from a list of impediments to change. To this, I must add that although money may make things possible, it doesn't make them happen. People do that.

As long as education is publicly supported, its funds will be limited by the ability and inclination to pay of the people. One of the truisms of the business is that people can pay for the things they really want. If we want more funds for education we must work so that it achieves higher priority among the public wants. And this we must do by clarification of our objectives and the means for attaining them, after which we must gain their general acceptance through improved communication.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

But I must say a few things about what I often hear described as the biggest obstruction to progress of all – the Department of Education. There still seems to be a feeling in some quarters that there is one god, the Department, and Egerton Ryerson is his prophet. We could do so much more by way of innovation were it not for the rigidity of regulations, the inflexibility of courses, and so on *ad nauseam*.

The monolith is moving, though, and often in praiseworthy directions. Curriculum subcommittees are constantly at work; teachers are being involved in planning and decision making. I know this is true. One day last winter, five teachers on my staff were in Edmonton on committee work, and only last week three were gone for periods of from one to four days.

I think this is great, and I am quite excited about some of the developments I see on the horizon, but I see some pretty basic defects. The teacher work that is being done is superimposed on a full teaching load; it is an extra service rendered at considerable personal cost. Committee members take on the job with no reduction of their responsibility to their students. So that time given to one function is stolen from the other, or from the teacher's personal life.

Changes, as a result, sometimes take far too long – and even when effected may be imposed on the systems of the province with far too little orientation and commitment of those who must implement them. Too often, teachers faced with innovative course outlines face also the need to spend an inordinate number of hours familiarizing themselves with philosophy and method and content if they are to be effective in facing their hundreds of students in a full day of teaching.

So many innovations are ineffective not because they are not good, but because they are not done.

The Department has an essential role: that of coordinating, conducting research, and giving direction. But learning goes on between teachers and students; every other related function can be justified only to the extent that it facilitates learning. Teaching, too, is a learning process, and the school must become a learning environment for the adults in it.

The Department has an obligation to encourage teachers to learn and to lead. It must give schools and systems the scope they need to exploit their resources of talent.

So, I am back where I started. When effective communication exists among all parties concerned in education to identify mutually acceptable goals and approaches to them, when time can be found to plan the utilization of talent and resources to implement these approaches, then we will have at our command the potential to initiate and direct the changes required in the seventies.

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The Emerging Role of the Principal

TERENCE McKAGUE

The principal of the future will have an opportunity to develop a unique school, reflecting his individuality and leadership. He will assume responsibility for teacher selection, improvement of instruction, developing educational goals and allocation of resources. His role will change from emphasis on managerial functions to professional leadership in all facets of the educational enterprise. Clarification of his role in the educational hierarchy is necessary if he is to continue to exert influence on the course of education. Current indications of a trend toward de-bureaucratization of education suggest another major challenge for the principal in the years ahead. Can he successfully create and work within "adaptive, problem-solving, temporary" organizational structures?

The role of the principal in most respects has changed rather dramatically during this century. It wasn't too long ago that a principal was largely a head teacher, someone who kept school operations in good running order, who disciplined students, who submitted reports, who performed whatever clerical work was necessary, kept track of student records, ran the gestetner, and counted the milk money. Although many of these earlier functions are still performed by some principals, there has been a considerable shift in emphasis in the way the principal operates.

In general, it can be said that the principal has gone from being a

LONER

who worked in relative isolation in carrying out the functions of the school

⬇

SHARER

who works with many others and shares with them aspects of decision-making, authority, and responsibility

ADMINISTRATOR

who operated his school for his own convenience, even if this didn't necessarily facilitate learning

⬇

LEADER

who is willing to disrupt the system and create certain changes necessary for better achievement of the goals of education

MANAGER

who kept things in good running order and avoided the kinds of confrontations that might result in unpleasantness or the need for innovation

⬇

INNOVATOR

who is not reluctant to break away from the old ways of doing things and try something different and potentially exciting

The principal of today is expected to be a human relations expert – dealing fairly and equitably with teachers, students, the superintendent, community leaders, and secretaries; an instructional leader – who is familiar with everything that is going on in his school and knows how to improve the entire program; and a public relations person – who knows how to cope with parental interference and yet inspire community support.

In attempting to make predictions about the emerging role of the principal, one has to keep in mind that almost all of the changes in the way the principal has functioned over the years have been the result of forces beyond the principal to which he has had to accommodate. One obvious example is the increase in size and complexity of schools, which has brought about many changes in the way the principal has operated. What has often happened is that many principals have succumbed to the way these external pressures have dictated they should behave without really relishing the kinds of things which have resulted.

If this pattern continues and if the role of the principal continues to be modified only in response to external pressures, prediction of what is likely to happen to the principalship in the future would depend upon an understanding of the changes that are going to take place in the whole field of education.

I question, however, whether this process of evolution in response to external pressures will continue in the future as it has in the past. In fact, I would anticipate that principals will operate more on the basis of how they think they should function rather than on the basis of how others think they should function. Rather than merely responding to forces attempting to condition their behavior, they will themselves create forces to which other segments of society will have to adjust. Instead of just playing a part in the drama of education, a part which was conceived for them by someone else, principals will begin to depart from the script and start writing their own lines, many of which will be an improvement on the original play.

DEVELOPMENT OF UNIQUE SCHOOLS

As a consequence of this new freedom, I predict that the principal of the future will be given more and more of an opportunity to develop the uniqueness of his school, to inculcate individuality into the form his school will take and the style it will display. Principals will have a greater say regarding everything that goes on in their school, with the result that schools will develop individual characteristics which will set them apart from other institutions.

The fact that principals have promoted the unique characteristics and the innovative features of their schools is nowhere better illustrated than in western Canada. There are numerous examples of schools which are doing things differently than they did in the past and differently from other schools even within the same system. Let me cite a few.

The opportunity for continuous progress and choice of subject difficulty provided students at the Gordon Bell High School in Winnipeg, the unique observation facilities and cooperative teaching approach at the University Elementary School in Calgary, student self-evaluation at British Columbia's Ryder Lake School, flexible grouping to develop independence skills at the Sutherland Public School in Saskatoon, the volunteer parent program at McKee Elementary in Edmonton, the use of learning packages and individualized instruction at the Salmo Secondary School, Salmo, B.C., student freedom of movement despite a traditional structure in the St. Avila School at Fort Garry, and the use of television and other audio-visual devices at Miller Composite High School in Regina. These and other examples are illustrative of the uniqueness of many western Canadian schools.

This individuality among schools today stems from a number of sources: the desire of some school boards to have their schools nationally recognized, an interest on the part of senior administrators to experiment with newer trends and ideas, the ability of teachers to carry out special types of programs, in some cases the demands of students to be treated differently than they have been treated in the past. But the point one can make is that none of these schools would have adopted these innovations so successfully without the kind of leadership which was provided by the principal.

I predict that this trend to increased individuality among schools, based on an acknowledgment of the capabilities of the principal, is going to continue. In the future, principals will be involved in selecting teachers and will be responsible for how well these teachers are functioning in the school. Although there are still principals who prefer to have someone else make the staffing decisions, it is certainly true that principals now have considerably more influence in the choice of teachers than was the case in the past. And with the possible elimination of the teacher shortage, this function has become a much more meaningful one.

It has meant, however, that the principal who does select his own teachers also must assume increased responsibility for improving their competence and for dealing with those teachers who are incompetent. The question of how to handle incompetent teachers has always been a difficult one for school principals. Although they are in the best position to assess the ability of a teacher, principals are all too often overlooked by school boards who prefer to take on this task themselves. With the reduction of teaching positions in most Saskatchewan school systems resulting from changes in the pupil-teacher ratio, many boards indicated their eagerness to get rid of teachers, and in many cases did so without any consultation with the principal.

Under circumstances such as this, one can question whether principals can really be held responsible for the quality of education which takes place in their school. The answer, of course, is no. There are obviously many factors which influence the quality of education, over which the principal may have little or no control – the staff he has to work with, the facilities, the policies under which he operates, the needs of the pupils who come to him, the traditions and desires of the community, and perhaps most important, the funds that are made available to him. All of these factors influence the educational outcomes of the school.

About all that can be said is that, given the resources available to him and the situation in which he has to work, the principal is responsible for the quality of his school program. It would follow, then, that the more control the principal has over the factors affecting his school's performance, the more he should be held responsible for the quality of education that results. And his success as a principal, then, should be judged in terms of the kinds of resources he is able to acquire.

It is essentially this question of the acquisition of resources which is plaguing many principals today. We are reaching a critical point in education at which principals, on the one hand, are expected to play a much greater part in program development and curriculum evaluation, thereby exerting a broader influence over the instructional offerings they think should be provided, and yet, on the other hand, are having less and less say in decisions affecting the resources needed to carry out these programs. Here one can think primarily of financial resources and time allocation.

We expect principals, for example, to encourage teachers to experiment with new courses, to try out revised instructional methods, and to investigate other educational innovations. But when teachers reply that these things take more time and energy than they presently have, the principal is not in a position to provide them with the time and assistance they should receive. Or if it is discovered that a proposed innovation requires outlays of money for new materials – which many of them do – the principal finds he is not able to provide the necessary funds.

In recent years, principals have been exhorted to take into account the individual differences in their students by diversifying the curriculum at the high school level or by providing for individualized instruction in the elementary school. But, having done so, they are subject to decisions made at higher levels which can arbitrarily and unilaterally cut back on course offerings, or make their attempts to individualize instruction unrealistic because of large classes – all in the name of economic necessity.

It seems, then, that in the future, principals will be able to place a more personal stamp on what goes on in their school, but they will be limited in their ability to affect what their school is doing because of the financial restrictions being placed upon them. This means that a principal who is convinced of the value of an educational innovation, especially an innovation which requires more resources than he has available, will be required to negotiate with higher officials to acquire what he thinks is necessary to embark on a venture that is educationally sound.

THE PRINCIPAL – DEFINITION OF FUNCTION

A second prediction I would make regarding the emerging role of the principal is that principals, as well as others involved in education, will have to justify what they are doing in education and in some cases account for their very existence. One of the things which occurs when economic resources become scarce is that people start questioning the value of practices which traditionally have gone unquestioned. One such practice which is being examined by hundreds of school systems in North America is the ten-month school year. Considered necessary primarily for agrarian reasons, this practice is being critically assessed in the light of the present situation and the need to make best use of both economic and human resources.

Organizations and positions related to education are being examined from the point of view of their necessity and usefulness. School boards, for example, are going through a rather agonizing period of self-appraisal in an attempt to determine their own function. Having been deprived of many of the powers traditionally associated with their early role in education, they are now attempting to discover a new role. One of the refreshing outcomes of this assessment is an acknowledgment on the part of trustees of their own ignorance regarding many educational matters and the necessity of getting accurate information before decisions are made.

There are other examples of this as well: teachers' organizations, especially in provinces where standards of teacher welfare are high, have to ask themselves whether they have displaced their original goals and now are simply attempting to perpetuate themselves. With new legislation in some provinces allowing all school boards to appoint their own superintendents, many provincially appointed men are beginning to wonder just what the future holds for them. Nor have teachers been spared from the necessity for serious self-scrutiny: unless teachers identify their function and indicate exactly what they consider their job entails, other agencies may do it for them.

What about principals? Are they immune from this trend toward clarification of duties and definition of role? Certainly not. And while nobody is openly advocating abolition of the principalship, it is obvious that principals must clarify their functions as well.

Trustees are among the first to concern themselves with the role of the principal, partly because his position is a high-priced one, and partly because many trustees are not satisfied that the principal is really functioning as a representative of the board. Some trustees assume that changing the basis for paying the salaries of principals will change the way they operate. They presumably believe that if principals' salaries were not determined in the same way as teachers', they would begin to function as the board's man. I contend that if principals are not now functioning as boards would like them to function, the reasons are far removed from the methods by which their salary is determined.

It is felt by some people that the principal is not taking advantage of his position vis-à-vis teachers and the board. In terms of communication between these two groups, the principal is in a strategic if not preferred position. He is in the best place to relay information between the board and central office, and the teachers. Too often it is felt that communication initiated by the board does not reach teachers because it is blocked at the school level. If the principal is not the "board's man," as many trustees seem to think, he is hardly ingratiating himself with the board if he does not do his part in communicating what the policies of the board are.

The traditional argument as to why principals should not be placed out of scope is that they are really part of the teacher group. And if they are part of the teacher group, by virtue of their position they are the most obvious spokesman to represent the views of teachers. Unless teachers feel that their concerns are being relayed by the principal to the appropriate bodies for consideration, they will bypass the principal and use other channels to express their opinions. There are already some areas where teachers have established direct contact between their organizations and trustees.

The question that principals must resolve is not that of "whose man" he is, but rather, how best to use his position in the educational hierarchy as a middle man between the board and central office, and the teachers. If school boards are not convinced that principals are representing their views to people they come in contact with, then they will continue to press for changes (including changes in means of salary determination) which will ensure that he acts as an extension of their executive arm. If teachers are not getting satisfaction from appeals made to the principal, they will bypass him in favor of other means of having their views acknowledged. In my opinion, neither alternative is educationally sound.

If the principal is part of the line organization between the board and the student, he should be expected to carry out those duties associated with his position on the line. And if the principal is considered part of the teacher group, then he should also be expected to represent the views of teachers to those above him in the organization. The two functions are not incompatible; indeed they are complementary. And both are important if the principal expects to retain his preferred position in the educational hierarchy. Unless principals are prepared to meet the expectations of both groups, or barring that, until they decide which camp they belong in, they will find themselves increasingly alienated from both sides. This will place them in a virtual no-man's land where their influence on education will be severely limited.

A second, and perhaps even more significant aspect of this trend toward role clarification will be the old question of whether the principal should function more as a manager or as an instructional leader. For a principal to think of himself as an administrator really provides no guidance in this regard as long as administration is vaguely defined as the mobilization of resources in order to achieve certain objectives. It entails a more thorough examination of the meaning of management and instructional leadership and how each can contribute toward the accomplishment of goals.

To be a manager means to be concerned primarily with the smooth operation of the organization, achieved through the execution of routine matters, adherence to clearly established policies, clarification of duties, and delineation of authority. It is an attempt to create an organization which will be easy to administer so that established procedures can be maintained and traditional modes of operation adhered to. It tends toward a mechanistic model of organization characterized by more concern with positions than with the people who occupy them. It attempts to keep the organization in a state of equilibrium, with the result that change is infrequent unless initially programmed for.

To be a leader means to be concerned with moving the organization toward the goals which have been set for it. It involves the initiation of structures to assist people in accomplishing goals, as well as a tolerance of freedom which allows people scope for initiative, decision, and action. Because people are permitted sufficient freedom to carry things out the way they think best, the situation in the organization is often turbulent and uncertain, requiring a great deal of flexibility on the part of the leader in coping with matters. Reliance on traditional means of control may be inappropriate in dealing with a situation which is constantly in flux.

In resolving the conflict of whether a principal should be a manager or an instructional leader, an easy alternative would be to advocate that he should concern himself with both aspects of administration. But is this realistic? Can one expect the person charged with the responsibility for maintaining the status quo also be engaged in behavior intended to disrupt the equilibrium?

Before answering this question, it might be advantageous to assess the current situation. The management component of administration has traditionally taken precedence over the instructional leadership aspect. This is because the interests, training, and competencies of principals tend to be largely managerial. It also reflects the desire most people have to make things as administratively easy for themselves as possible. And perhaps most obvious, it reflects the fact that if the amount of time the principal has available is limited, he has to first concern himself with management.

A principal cannot avoid the management functions associated with his job. He can't stop the phones from ringing or ignore for too long the mail on his desk. He can't get away forever from submitting reports to those above him. These things have to be done. Because they are persistent and obvious, it soon becomes apparent if he is not dealing with them.

This is not the case with the instructional program of the school. The school will continue to function without in-service training. Teachers will carry on regardless of whether the principal ever sets foot inside their classrooms or consults with them after school. Said another way, the activities associated with instructional improvement are those that the principal may or may not initiate. It is natural that administrators, burdened with responsibilities that must be done, will tend to ignore those things they do not have to do, but which would probably enhance the instructional program in the school.

To be an instructional leader, then, presupposes that the principal has time to devote to this kind of activity. It also assumes that he has some training and ability so that he can provide the kind of leadership that teachers want. And finally, it means that he has some conviction that he ought to be functioning as an instructional leader and that the program in his school can be improved through the kinds of efforts he would make in this regard.

In attempting to predict whether principals in the future will function more as managers or instructional leaders, we find conflicting tendencies. The trend toward instructional leadership is indicated by the fact that principals are getting more time off to engage in non-teaching duties; they are receiving more assistance in carrying out their managerial tasks so their time will be freed for program development, and new programs are requiring them to be facilitators of educational innovations.

On the other hand, many principals are recognizing that there are other people who can be relied upon to provide instructional leadership, such as consultants and department heads, not to mention better qualified teachers. This leaves them time to keep the school running smoothly, an objective which they consider to be a necessity in view of the number of complaints that come their way from teachers, parents, and students.

So it is difficult to extrapolate from present practice to what the future may hold. Although I would like to think that principals in the future will concern themselves primarily with instructional improvement, I have a rather unpleasant feeling that this is only wishful thinking on my part. As long as school boards continue to hire principals on the basis of their ability to discipline students, I don't see much hope for instructional leadership. As long as parents are more concerned about the whereabouts of their children during school hours than the relevance of the program they are receiving, I can see management getting the upper hand. And as long as teachers prefer working in a situation where the principal makes few demands on their creative instincts, I can't foresee much headway being made in instructional improvement.

Yet one's conviction as to the importance of instructional leadership is supported when one realizes that the quality of a school is rarely judged on the basis of how smoothly it is functioning, but rather in terms of the educational outcomes it is producing. And that the truly great principals of this nation have acquired that reputation not because they were necessarily good managers but because they were instructional leaders.

People like Wayne Reed of the Northwest Central High School in Plenty, Saskatchewan; Peter Derenchuk, principal of Glenlawn Collegiate, St. Vital, Manitoba; and John Young of Campbell River, B.C. These are people who are more concerned with the quality of education in their schools than with maintaining an environment which would make their job easier. These are the people who encourage and support the innovative capacities of their teachers, who are constantly trying to keep up-to-date with what is new in their field, who are making demands on those above them in order to carry out programs they consider desirable. These are the kinds of principals whose example is worth emulating. And as long as the principalship is filled with persons of this calibre, we will not need to concern ourselves too much with those who are questioning whether principals can justify their existence, or whether they are really earning their administrative allowances.

THE CHANGING SCHOOL

My third and last prediction relates to the role of the principal resulting from the debureaucratization of the school and the increasing professionalism among teachers. Warren Bennis has given us a picture of organizations of the future and the kind of leadership which will be most suitable for these organizations.[1] He pictures organizations of the future as being adaptive, rapidly changing, temporary systems, organized around problems to be solved by groups of people with diverse professional skills. These groups will evolve in response to problems rather than to institutional expectations. "Adaptive, problem-solving, temporary systems of diverse specialists, linked together by coordinating and task-evaluating executive specialists in an organic flux – this is the organizational form that will gradually replace bureaucracy as we know it."[2]

The extent to which schools of the future will conform to Bennis's predictions can only be speculated upon. Although schools as we know them will probably remain in existence for a long time, it is true that some school systems are attempting to go beyond the traditional patterns in order to meet the needs of particular students under their jurisdiction. For example, in a downtown building in Saskatoon there is an office set aside for high school students who have found little to interest them in the traditional high school program and who are looking for part-time or full-time jobs. They use this office as a drop-in center where they can meet with other students, discuss problems, and improve their skills in certain areas. The program inaugurated by the Calgary Public School System for pregnant high school girls is another example. The use of private enterprise instruction in some American school systems also falls into this category. And, of course, the growing interest in free schools attests to the desire on the part of some people to get away from the bureaucratic nature of most of our schools.

Examples like these, though few and far between, are indicative of a move away from the very structured hierarchy in which schools have traditionally found themselves. In the future one can anticipate a blurring of formal lines of authority as people at all levels are given more leeway in carrying out their tasks. Decision making will involve greater numbers of people, many of whom had previously been disenfranchised.

Changes that are likely to take place in schools will result in concomitant changes in the role of the principal. He will tend to adapt his leadership to the unique situation in which he finds himself. He will not feel bound to adhere to the traditional supervisory practices, such as classroom visitation or intervisitation; but conversely, he will not feel obliged to ignore these practices because he feels they interfere with the norm of autonomy alleged to exist among teachers. He will discover what is most appropriate for the teachers in his school through continuous dialogue with them, and use the means which are most conducive to their needs and aspirations.

The school principal of the future will readily acknowledge his limitations in attempting to operate on his own an organization as diverse and complex as a modern school. He will depart from the policy of "splendid isolation" which has characterized the work of many administrators and make greater use of the abilities of others in the school. Because he will come to rely more on his staff and expect them to function as a team, a climate of collaboration will have to be achieved. This will depend on "flexible and adaptive structures, the utilization of individual talents, and standards of openness and trust" so that people will feel free to be critical of the situation and of him as an administrator without fear of reprisal or recrimination.

Each staff member will find a great deal of autonomy and an opportunity for selective participation in the making of decisions. If teachers are truly professional, they will be seeking full utilization of their abilities and training, the opportunity for further development and learning, and the chance to actualize their potential. The principal who recognizes these desires on the part of his teachers and is prepared to meet their expectations is the one who will provide the most appropriate kind of leadership for schools of the future.

Gone will be the administrator who is more concerned with straight window shades than with straight thinking, the one who thinks that streaming is the last word in individualized instruction, or the one who clutches his problems to his bosom rather than sharing them with others. Gone will be the principal who equates a teacher's ability to control students with stony silence in the classroom; the principal who turns down a teacher's request for a field trip because it entails the bother of getting permission from parents. Gone will be the principal who ignores the wishes of his high school students so persistently that they have to stage a walk-out in order to bring their grievances to his attention, and also gone will be the administrator who selects his teachers on the basis of how readily they are prepared to conform to the situation as it presently exists.

Being the kind of principal needed for schools of the future will be no easy task. For many it will require a complete reversal of form; for others only a slight shift in values. It requires not only a general awareness of organizational processes and professional requirements, but also a particular understanding of the dynamics of the school in which he is functioning and the peculiar needs of the staff with whom he works. Only when he can enlist the support of his teachers and release their talents in the pursuit of educational goals can he consider himself to be truly an educational leader.

SUMMARY

We have looked at three predictions regarding the emerging role of the principal – predictions which have not been startling or extremely radical – which, in this respect, probably reflect the evolutionary quality of changes which are likely to occur.

The first prediction: the principal will play a greater part in charting the course his school will take, thus increasing the uniqueness and individuality of schools in the future. The second prediction: principals, as well as others in education, will have to come to grips with the question of what their function should be. Definition of function was seen to be necessary because principals occupy a midway point between teachers and school boards, and also because principals are expected to be managers as well as instructional leaders, roles which are not necessarily compatible. Finally, we noted that the function of the principal would change in response to the gradual unstructuring of schools and increasing professionalism among teachers.

The realization of these predictions will require an ever increasing level of competence on the part of principals. Unless principals are equipped to handle the increased responsibilities which will be thrust upon them, or to take advantage of the possibilities which will become available, these opportunities to provide educational leadership will pass them by. One thing about the future is certain – the challenges for administrators will be greater than they have ever been before. What is not so certain is the kind of response to these challenges that will be forthcoming.

The noted English historian, Arnold Toynbee, had a theory about the rise and fall of civilizations which came to be known as the challenge-and-response theory. He postulated that a nation would continue to survive and grow and prosper only as long as it was able to respond to the challenges in its environment. And when it ceased to respond in effective ways, it would soon decline and eventually disappear.

The same can be said of the principalship. Unless principals are able to respond to the challenges of the future in ways that are both realistic and creative, they will soon discover that their importance, if not their necessity, will diminish and they will no longer be able to lay claim to the mantle of educational leadership.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Warren G. Bennis, "Beyond Bureaucracy," in Warren G. Bennis and Philip E. Slater, *The Temporary Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

[2] Bennis, op.cit., p.74.

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Discussion

Communications in Public Relations: The Administrator Behind the Eight Ball

The three contributors to this discussion are each involved in communications as part of their daily work. Their perspectives on communication vary, however, just as their work varies. One theme only is invariant: that educational administrators can no longer take public support of education for granted; support based on knowledge and understanding of what the schools are doing must be won. Almolky emphasizes four aspects of a sound school-community communications program: planning, facts, media, and understanding. The teacher's role in communications and public relations is considered by Rose. Hogle gives an interpretation of the challenge now facing the educational administrator, and urges greater use of the broadcast media in meeting this challenge.

BILL ALMOLKY

In the day of the docile parent, docile student, and docile teacher, some administrators relished the role of society's annointed. They believed that what took place inside education was their business exclusively.

Today's aware and knowledgeable public no longer accepts this "closed shop" attitude. Educators who are having difficulty accepting this fact are putting themselves and their colleagues behind the communications eight-ball.

It has taken a crisis of confidence in education to bring about an examination of the public relations duty of administrators. Administrators have a public relations duty to themselves, to parents, to teachers, to students, and to other special interest groups (or publics) in society which, together, make up the amorphous phenomenon known as public opinion. Increasingly, public opinion will dictate the success or failure of educational programs, educational careers, and educational goals.

A disservice has also been done to education by those who are happy to communicate only the good things. The public now knows that everything isn't rosy in education. The whitewash, perhaps unintentional, has resulted in a barrage of criticism, much of it unjustified, by a disappointed and sometimes bitter and disillusioned public.

It is unfortunate that education has had to undergo this public roasting before some administrators were jolted into an awareness of the legitimate concerns of their publics.

It is unfortunate that loss of public confidence casts doubt on education's successes.

How serious is the public relations problem facing educators? In the June 20 issue of The Financial Post, Paul Gibson wrote:

> The immense increases in teaching budgets (an almost 97% rise is predicted between 1967 and 1975 by the Economic Council of Canada) almost certainly will make money the focal point of the row looming over education.
>
> Discontentment with the present educational system is already widespread and rising – it's too stultifying, say the children; too permissive, say parents; too much work, say teachers; insufficient preparation for life's work, say employers . . .
>
> So ineffective is our educational system, say its most severe critics, that consideration should be given to almost abolishing schools. . . .

If Gibson is only fractionally correct, then we have a lot of public relations time to make up in a hurry.

Communication involves an exchange of ideas. Administrators who believe they are communicating by sending out one-way messages such as memos or directives had better wake up. Their various publics not only want to hear what the administrator has to say; they want the administrator to hear what they have to say. Unless provision is made for feedback from publics to the administrator, communication has not taken place.

Financial and other limitations dictate the level of sophistication of communications methods but there are few, if any, school systems which do not have resources at their fingertips. (A 35mm camera and a roll of color film are the basic ingredients of a slide presentation.)

The main purpose of a carefully planned program of two-way communication is to inform our various publics about the true state of education so that public understanding will lead to public support of educational goals.

There are four main ingredients in the communications program: planning, facts, media, and understanding.

PLANNING

Too many administrators communicate with their publics only when they are confronted by a threatening situation. Communication programs must be planned in advance for each audience, whether it is a one-page letter to a concerned parent or a half-hour TV program to a whole city. It is of little consolation to a father to have the "new" math explained to him a year after the program has started and his son has been telling him that dad's way is "old fashioned." It is of little value to announce a family-life education program, then fight a running battle with the "anti's" in public. Explaining the program to parents and involving them before making a public announcement could gain needed support.

FACTS

The contents of the message must be worded carefully so it says what we intend it to say. The contents must be factual, not half facts and not wishful thinking. We thwart our own goals by only informing our publics about the good things and ignoring or glossing over our problems. How can we expect the public to demand better education if it is led to believe all schools are A-1? How can the media present "all the facts" if they are given only half the facts? How can our publics make intelligent judgments without all the facts? If publics learn they have been "hoodwinked" how long will it take to regain their trust?

MEDIA

Selecting the proper media is important. The news media in some cases can by bypassed. Administrators often over-react and overestimate the influence of the news media. They often confuse publicity with public relations. News media are a valuable tool for communication, however, when used properly. But often, other media such as internal and external bulletins or newsletters, parent advisory committees, television programs, staff meetings, special brochures, etc., may better serve the purpose. Generally, there appears to be a need to return to more face-to-face communication.

UNDERSTANDING

The final and perhaps most important step in the communication process is . . . was the message understood? This involves evaluation of the communication process to determine effectiveness. Did the message get through or was it distorted, leading to a misunderstood message? Could the job be done as well at less expense using another medium of communication? For example, would a newsletter or other publication be as effective as a slide-sound presentation in a particular instance? Would it cost less? How large an audience would it reach and how long would it take to reach the audience, assuming time is an important factor?

Most administrators now realize effective communications and public relations are as valuable an asset as a good faculty or school building. They know that sound communications and public relations involve the ounce of prevention, not the pound of cure. Educational public relations is not effective if it is dragged out only to fight "brush fire" problems whenever they spring up. Educational public relations will be more effective when we all realize that taking our publics into our confidence is no more than they deserve and no less than our obligation.

Educational public relations is nothing more than people understanding people. If we can bring about public understanding of educational programs and aspirations, then public support is almost sure to follow.

CHUCK ROSE

For some time now, the "communications – public relations" challenge has confronted teachers and administrators. Educational leaders have challenged their colleagues and associates to "go to the public", to "sell" education, and to "involve" the community in the activities of the school. It would appear that the exigencies of financing education in the future will leave educators little or no choice; therefore, the gauntlet lies before us. The challenge remains as yet unanswered.

What is the present involvement of teachers and administrators in public relations? What should it be? How can we improve it? These are but three of the questions we must consider. For the moment, let us limit the scope of our consideration to an examination of the "on-the-job" involvement of the typical classroom teacher and the typical school administrator in communications and public relations with the community.

I would venture with little risk of challenge that public relations and communications in the typical school this past year would consist of the following activities:

1. Report cards – issued several times a year.
2. Parent-teacher interviews – held once or twice a year.
3. Open house – once a year, if held at all.
4. The occasional school fair, concert, play, or athletic event.
5. Complaints and problems – communications initiated either by the school or the home.

The typical teacher would probably be somewhat apprehensive and defensive about contact with parents; and the typical administrator would be found fulfilling his responsibility to the community by ensuring that the school is involved in a minimum of public relations and communications projects. Too often, moreover, the result is a relatively rigid and artificially structured, formal calendar of events such as that listed above.

Typically, the administrator appears to accept responsibility for the organization of all communications and public relations activities. The teacher appears content to accept the highly formalized, standardized, and somewhat clinical activities mentioned above. The results are all too easily predictable:

1. Reporting procedures become routine and at times meaningless.
2. The parent-teacher interviews are conducted on a total school basis, generally ranging from two to five minutes for each set of parents.

The event, whatever form it might take, is generally considered by all parties to be "a drag", but the parents, blessed with renewed hope each year, are willing to "try it again." Finally, the administrator takes unto himself the majority of problems and complaints which arise from time to time; the teacher, therefore, is free to do the essential job of teaching.

Admittedly, the above statements are generalizations, but how well they seem to apply to many schools. If in fact these statements are generally applicable, they describe a very poor and minimal level of communications and public relations.

Where the administrator assumes a major role in solving the problems of teachers by meeting parents and the community, one might contend that he is serving as a facilitator, creating conditions in which the teacher has the maximum amount of time to teach. However, it is my opinion and the thesis of this presentation, that this type of action by the administrator places him further "behind the eight-ball," by decreasing the likelihood that the concept of shared responsibility for communications and public relations will be developed within his staff.

Let me clarify and qualify the above statements.

I doubt if many would argue with the view that the teacher's performance in the classroom is the best type of public relations and communications possible. The child can, through his actions and attitudes, convey to the home the best image and impression of the school. However, our educational leaders inform us that image established in this way is not enough. The present financial picture for education necessitates direct communication with the public.

We can likely agree to a second point as well: that the administrator must continue to be the initiator and facilitator, for he has the experience, the broad vision, and knowledge of the total system. Some qualification of this proposition seems necessary, however:

1. Does "initiating" imply assuming complete responsibility?
2. Does "facilitating" imply doing the work for teachers?

Let us consider an example.

In some school systems the principal is now included in the calculation of teacher/pupil ratio. The staff, being directly involved in pupil organization and in planning the utilization of staff time, may well decide that the principal will require full-time free from classroom instruction so that the public may be met satisfactorily. The inherent danger in this type of decision is that teachers may simply assume that only the principal is responsible for meeting the public, communicating with the parents, and in general, for all public relations.

The community is interested in what education can do for them. This implies that some communications and some public relations must emanate from the classroom outward. The teacher must meet parents, and the public must see something of what is going on in the classroom as well.

We have been expecting and should continue to expect the administrator to become known and well-established in the community. He should build up rapport within the community and should gain the respect of parents. However, the basis for rapport and respect between school and community must go further. It must develop between the child's parents and his teachers.

In summary, it can be concluded that teachers and administrators are behind the eight-ball in the area of communications and public relations. They have not answered the challenge. The teacher perceives his task as beginning and ending in the classroom. His expectation, therefore, is that the administrator should handle public relations and communications. Administrators will fall further behind the eight-ball until as initiators, catalysts, and facilitators they awaken the classroom teacher's awareness to the need for extensive communication with parents and public relations within the community as a part of their professional responsibilities.

The challenge is obvious. The administrator, on one side of the equation, must continue his efforts externally, working within the community and with the parents. On the other side, and just as important, he must begin to work with his own staff, and strive to further the individual classroom teacher's understanding of public relations and communications.

BRUCE HOGLE

Administrators are in the unenviable position of having teachers on the one side, trustees on the other, and the public outside – all with their own views as to how the same basic objective should be attained. The key areas of contention remain costs and whether our schools are meaningful and purposeful. John Q. Public is in a dilemma about these areas, and many others for that matter, mainly because he is not receiving enough information.

You can't blame John for being concerned. He knows that one out of every ten Canadians is too young to attend school; but three of those ten do attend, and the remaining six foot the bill. And what a bill it is.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimates that school enrolment next year will increase only 2 percent – but the total cost of education will rise 14 percent to 7.5 billion dollars. That's 20 million dollars a day . . . 365 days of the year . . . at a time when the majority of our institutions are closed for as much as half of the year.

Education today is the largest category (over 20 percent) of government spending in Canada.

The latest report of the Economic Council of Canada has warned that Canadians must put the brakes on education and health costs by insisting on efficiency.

Because, according to the Council, efficiency and cost-conscious management are the keys to halting the runaway costs.

The Council claims that lack of efficiency in medicine and education can be related to their lack of exposure (in comparison with other industries) to market forces and competitive pressures which tend to act as a spur to efficiency.

The problems for you as administrators will be accentuated during this decade because of the tremendous change in the age "mix" of Canadians.

North America's current population of about 222-million will rise to an estimated 252-million by 1980. Canada's population alone will climb from 21 to 24-million in that span.

The growth is not the difficulty. It's the mix.

Using approximate, rounded-out figures, we find that the two million Canadians now over 65 will increase by 20 percent to 2.4 million within ten years.

The older middle-age group between 50 and 64 will see its ranks rise by 13 per cent – from 3 million to 3.4 million.

And the younger middle-age classification between 35 and 49 will grow slightly by 1 percent from 4 million to 4.04 million.

But what about those two remaining groups: young adults between 20 and 34; and children and teenagers.

In Canada, as in the United States, that young adult group between 20 and 34 will jump by 50 percent in Canada's case, from the present 4 million to 6 million.

And the figure of 8 million children and teenagers we now have will remain unchanged ten years from now. DBS even says that enrolments in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools should decline over the next 20 years.

Most of the changes in the age mix are attributable to the birth rate. The post-war baby boom started declining in the 1950's. It shows up in this year's Canadian kindergarten enrolment which is down one per cent.

What does this mean for you as administrators?

Many things: One is the realization that pressure to build elementary schools will fade gradually during this decade. At the same time, youngsters born in the baby-boom period will be moving into and through high schools into colleges and other institutes.

This may explain why the Alberta government has now indicated that first priority in the coming decade will be given colleges over universities which, they say, serve only 30 per cent of the students who might profit from some form of post-secondary education.

A second point is implicit in the following question: Are our schools and universities meaningful and purposeful – intellectually, socially, and culturally?

In a position paper prepared for the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning, Harold Baker answers the question this way:

> There is now observable something of a downward shift, historically, in the image and promise of our schools. Time was when they symbolized enlargement, offering to the knowledge-hungry student (and his parents) dramatic vistas of intellectual growth and achievement. Stephen Leacock reminds us of the magic words: the little red schoolhouse, the midnight oil, the eager student, the kindly dominie, the absent-minded professor. Now (and despite the "Don't be a dropout!" literature) the term *school* too often symbolizes boredom and frustration, an obstacle to learning. This at a time when, unquestionably, our schools and universities offer more intellectual enlargement than their predecessors. The problem lies, presumably, in their failure to keep pace with the total context of contemporary living. To the extent that this is true, they fail to prepare our students to live effectively in our society. They fail, thus, to educate – and in so doing fail to command the allegiance and respect that in a more dynamic context would accrue to them.
>
> Is it true that we *school* rather than educate?
>
> Is it true that, characteristically and at almost any level, our schools lack human warmth and dignity? Then they need to become more human. Is it true that they teach in lock-step, routine fashion? Then they need to become more imaginative, exciting, and sensitive to the ways in which students are able to learn. Is it true that they evade many of our deepest problems, or fail to invoke the full challenge of answers thereto? Then they need to address themselves to these problems, and in the process to conjure up new means of human welfare, new visions of the human spirit, new determination to bring them about.[1]

Up to this point, I have emphasized the need for educational administrators to have better communications and dialogue with those they serve. But not just at conferences, meetings of PTA's, or even visitations by parents.

If the public feels you've been remiss, maybe there are good reasons. Two examples come to mind:

1. An Edmonton parents' group, and no one else, spearheaded the successful drive urging the Alberta government to provide funds for the upgrading of antiquated schools in the province.

2. Alberta Jayceettes, and no one else, led the campaign to have the three Prairie Provinces build a school on the prairies to service prairie blind children – rather than sending them

hundreds of miles away to either Vancouver or Brantford.

I could also mention such other thorny issues as high school football coaches and their win-at-all-costs attitude and to hell with sportsmanship, character building, and that garbage.

Or those schools so uptight about hair and dress that you wonder if as much concern is taken with what goes on inside the classroom – or out on the football field.

I seem to be leading up to this question: how many of you have ever visited the radio and television station which serves – or tries to serve – your community? I can tell you the number of administrators who have been to see me in Edmonton in the five years I've been there and it wouldn't be more than ten.

How then can you ever hope to have John Q. Public better understand . . . and appreciate . . . what you're trying to do? And may I say at this juncture that I do appreciate . . . and admire . . . the job you are doing, or trying to do.

But without communications and dialogue, forget it. In thinking about communications, particularly in western Canada and throughout North America, we must give serious consideration to the broadcast media. These are the media we make most use of.

My point is emphasized by the world communications report prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Here, it is reported that Europeans buy 38 per cent of the world's daily newspapers and North Americans a relatively low 23 per cent. The United Kingdom, proportionate to population, has the world's highest number of copies of daily newspapers.

Television in Canada has advanced tremendously in just seventeen years. The next decade will be even more startling as you'll be able to tune in and see the Berlin Symphony, the Sadler's Wells Ballet, the Moscow Circus, or the Tokyo Giants, thanks to eye-in-the-sky satellites.

But local programming will always be important, particularly in such fields as education and medicine – to explain new trends and findings and justify costs for same.

The broadcasting media are fully prepared and anxious to assist you in every way possible. But we won't even get started until the time arrives that you feel it is necessary. I say it is now.

Have the media handled the drug problem wrongly? You'd never know it by the number of calls or letters we receive from the educational community. We get cranks, drunks, threats, and nuts . . . but educators rarely are heard from.

Unless, of course, I mention certain Alberta school board superintendents getting paid more than the premier or lieutenant governor. But I'm speaking about issues we are all concerned with: drugs, kindergartens, the three R's, sex education, and so on.

In conclusion: I'm with you – not against you. But dialogue and communication are a two-way street and if there is to be revolution for resolution of the eight-ball problem . . . then let's get with it.

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[1] Harold S. Baker, "Aims and Objectives", a position paper prepared for the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning (Edmonton, Alberta: The Commission, 1970), pp. 41-2.

Notes on Contributors

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